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THE SWEATSHOPS

CONSUMERS' LEAGUE CONFESSES INABILITY TO SUPPRESS THEM

Laws Urged for Their Restriction, Despite the Fact That Those Already in Existence Are Futile—"Impotence" Stamped All Over the "War."

The "war" against child labor in factories, and unsanitary, "sweat-shop" made white goods, which has been and is being waged by the National Consumers' League, is described at length in the third annual report of the League, now made public. The slow spread of the use of the League label in New York city is commented upon as follows:

The small number of factories in the city of New York embraced in the League list may be accounted for by the general practice of employing girls under the age of sixteen years; by the permission to work overtime, which is embodied in the factory law of the State of New York; and by the almost universal custom of giving out goods to be made up away from the premises of the manufacturer. The new Child Labor law, which will take effect in October next, provides that boys and girls under the age of sixteen years may not be employed longer than nine hours in any one day, and fifty-four hours in one week. As the terms of the statute are clear and appear to be workable, it is possible that the enforcement of this provision may place a sufficient premium upon the employment of older persons (who will remain free to work ten hours in a day and sixty hours in a week) to discourage somewhat the work of the children in the needle trade. The latest report of the State Factory Inspector is not encouraging reading on this subject, however, as it records only three convictions obtained and three fines of \$20 each imposed in the whole State of New York in a year by reason of violations of the old law restricting the hours of labor of women and children, although the widespread, habitual violation of that law has for years been notorious.

According to the same report: "The largest problem with which the Bureau has to deal is that of tenement manufacture. Almost two-thirds of the inspections, 40 per cent. of the complaints, and over 60 per cent. of the prosecutions are concerned with this failure of New York activity. While concentration of population and industry in cities would ordinarily make the supervision of factory conditions easier than in the days of neighborhood industries scattered through the towns and villages of the State, this advantage has been more than counterbalanced by the distribution of factory work among innumerable small shops and family workrooms in city tenements. More factory employees work at the manufacture of clothing (men's suits and overcoats and women's cloaks and wrappers) than in any other individual industry—73,355 persons. Of this number 62,390 are licensed to work in tenement houses.

"Nearly 70 per cent. of all licensed places are in New York city (69.6 exactly). Of individual streets, Mulberry, Mott, Elizabeth and Chrystie lead all others in the number of licenses, 1951 being held by persons on one of those four comparatively short streets in the heart of the East Side."

The report says: "To hold every license fully up to the standard of the law would require almost constant surveillance, while under the most favorable circumstances the Department cannot with its present force of inspectors make more than two inspections annually of the 30,000 licensed places."

"Of the 62,390 persons licensed to work in the garment trades in tenement houses, forty-six persons were fined in a year for violations of the law. This is a trifle more than one person for each of the thirty-nine inspectors, and a trifle less than one in a thousand of the licensed persons. As it is notorious that the law is more honored in the breach than the observance, particularly in the streets in which the licenses are most abundantly granted—in Mulberry, Mott and Elizabeth streets—this record of incompetence in the enforcement of the law by prosecution indicates an urgent need of radical change either in the methods or the personnel of the Factory Inspection Department."

"The difficulty attending the award of the label to manufacturers in the city of New York is further intensified by the fact that eight, at least, among the large sectarian places of incarceration of women and children in the State of New York regularly work for the market. As these institutions are thus really factories, yet are exempt from registration and factory inspection, it is never possible to know certainly which manufacturers are sending goods away from their own premises to be made up in the institutions. In several cases the city of New York pays per capita maintenance allowance to these institutions. It thus does indirectly what it has ceased to do directly, namely, pays for the maintenance of incarcerated persons, the produce of whose labor is thrown upon the market in competition with the product of factories in which every worker is receiving wages. The competition of this form of prison labor presses heavily upon the white muslin underwear trade in the city of New York."

Discussing the national situation, the League report says:

"The National Consumers' League can embrace fifty-three leagues in eighteen States. Several States have a number of leagues, among them, California with six and Connecticut with five. Massachusetts has besides the original old established league in Boston and the vicinity, the Worcester League and College Leagues at Smith, Wellesley and Mount Holyoke. Wisconsin has no less than ten leagues.

"The manufacturers authorized to use the label now number forty-three, controlling forty-seven factories in eleven States. There is less change needed to bring an average factory up to the requirements of the Consumers' League in Massachusetts than in any other State.

"As the presence of children in the factories is one of the great obstacles to the progress of the work of the league, the Secretary has embraced every opportunity for promoting the widespread agitation against child labor. The Consumers' League of the city of New York suspended all other legislative work in order to co-operate with the New York Child Labor Committee. All of the five bills drafted by the Committee have become laws and will take effect in September and October, 1903. Of these laws, one prohibits newspapers under the age of ten years from working. Newspapers between the ages of ten and fourteen years must be licensed by the Board of Education. This law applies to the cities of New York and Buffalo. A second law prohibits children under the age of fourteen years from working in factories, even during vacation, which had been permitted on a large scale for children between the ages of twelve and fourteen years. The fourth law provides a penalty for every one who makes a false statement in the certificate authorizing a child to work. This affects parents, guardians, teachers, notaries and officers of local Boards of Health, all of whom have hitherto in some cases been culpably negligent, if not actively mendacious. Finally, the compulsory education law requires children between the ages of eight and fourteen years to attend school 130 days in each year; and provides required night school attendance for boys between fourteen and sixteen years of age, three nights in the week, four months of each year, if they have not finished the work of the fifth year of the public schools."

The League's card of "Don'ts" bears this list of requests to women:

"Don't shop after five o'clock or on Saturday afternoons. Don't leave your Christmas shopping until the week before Christmas. Don't receive packages delivered after six o'clock. Don't give your address carelessly to sales people. Don't neglect to ask for underwear bearing the Consumers' League label."

GOOD SHOTS.

From the Wage Worker, Monthly Organ of the Socialist Labor Party, Published at Detroit, Mich.

John D. Rockefeller is traveling in Mexico, yet his "brains" are still "managing" the oil industry, the railroads, the copper mines, etc., that are located in different parts of the United States. What wonderful brains!

The S. L. P. teaches that there is no harmony between capital and labor; that one is instituted for the purpose of exploiting the other, and no such thing as "identity of interests" can possibly exist between the thief and his victim—the capitalist and the wage-worker. How can pure and simple trade unionists claim to be Socialists, so long as they seek the solution of the problem of toil by retaining amicable relations—"harmony of interests"—between the capitalists and wage-workers?

"Forty thousand working women in Greater New York do not earn enough wages to pay for their board and clothes," says "Father Sheehy" in his book, "Social Problems." "They must either beg or do worse," he comments. And yet "Father Sherman," Bishop Quigley, and others, say: "Socialism means shame for our mothers, wives and sweethearts." It is the old cry of the thief, capitalism, crying "stop thief!" to confuse his pursuers, the working class.

How many are there who do not realize that society as a whole is as much an organism as is the body of one person, the organization of atoms, and that this social organism moves, and has its being, and performs its functions just as surely as does the organization of atoms in the body co-operatively perform the functions of the body? We, as individuals, burdened as we are with personal cares which seem to be, exclusively, our own business, forced to struggle against one another to maintain our personal existence, are apt to confine our ideas of life to the individual. Our views are narrowed; we cannot look beyond our narrow sphere and comprehend this social life which moves and has its being. We, like the atom in the body, are unable to understand this social organism, or that we are an integral part of it.

The weather can not be changed by breaking the thermometer, and the capitalist can not stem the rising tide of Socialism by disfranchising the working class. Neither Mr. Parry, nor "The Business Men's League," will stay the S. L. P. with their primary reform measures. Bismarck's "iron hand," could not stay its growth in Germany, nor will "little boy" Simons' primary reform bill retard its growth in Michigan.

CIVIC FEDERATION'S

Principles Exposed to All Who Can and Will See.

In the article "Unionism and Unions" we quote the ideas advanced by the Dutch Trades Unionists on "the right to breach of contract." But now compare our own Sam-Gompersized American Federation of Labor with those ideas and sentiments. He is the first vice-chairman of Mark Hanna's Civic Federation. And the first copy of their "monthly review," the "National Civic Federation," contains a string of articles on the question of advisability of the "incorporation" of trades unions. The intention of the friends of "incorporation" is clearly demonstrated in their articles, to wit: "to add to their (the unions') responsibility," to "discourage the present practice of declaring actual war on persons and property;" to "prevent insecurity from the standpoint of the employer;" "to make the union a contractor for labor" "of a certain standard of skill and at a certain rate of wages up to a certain number of men." Explanation is here superfluous, but the reasons advanced by others are not so easily comprehended, and these reasons point towards the fact that some means to force submission of the individual workmen to the rule and the tyranny of the bosses—the employers—will still be considered necessary, and that it will be introduced either one way or another. The necessity to obtain the International or National Union officers' consent to local strikers worked beautifully, for a long time, to enable the bosses to prepare for strikes in a manner that would make defeat for the men a certainty. The agreements with the Local or National or International Unions disregarded all consideration of the rights of the men as individuals, and, hence, so long as a certain wage was paid, the unions were nothing but agencies—"contractors"—"for labor of a certain standard of skill and up to a certain number of men." Hence, all the dirty work, that the manufacturers, otherwise, would have had to pay for to get employees to perform it for them, became the functions to be performed by the caricature of organized labor called pure and simple. And instead of the bosses paying for those services performed for them by the ex-ecutors of their needs, the men themselves had to pay those that traded off the usefulness of their organizations. Such part of a certain wage as could be spared because it was not used at that moment for their mere existence, was paid for dues to pay salaries to men who performed no other visible service to the men except "to dicker with the bosses." And if anybody could not spare the dues just when due, that was sufficient evidence to prove that this person did not possess the required standard of skill, because this standard includes the ability to work each day in the year, incidentally, so as to be able to earn the dues; and the guarantee that no family complications will interfere with a single day's work is not excluded from this either. Of course, sometimes, also, it was a sign that showed that more than a "certain number of men" had been supplied at "the certain rate" of wages to perform the amount of work bargained for, and then he was allowed to get away from their control, so that, forced by starvation, he could cut down "the certain rate" of wages of the number of men really required. The result of such conditions, naturally, made "the outs" fight for their lives, for jobs against starvation, which might be presented by employment—while "the ins" naturally looked upon themselves as defenders of a principle. It is this use that the bosses—the capitalists—were able to make of "the unions" that, therefore, caused such affairs as happened at the Walkerville ferry dock, in this city, a few weeks ago, when several "scabs" nearly killed a number of "union men" in self-defense.

But, now, many occurrences point towards the fact that "this grand idea" to utilize this lightning bolt of a class-conscious proletariat—organized effort—to supply the motive power to uphold the interests of the oppressors is rapidly becoming played out. In spite of their affiliation with National or International organizations, many local unions or, even, isolated shops, or, even, unorganized groups, begin to surprise the firms by simply refusing to enter the shops until certain demands have been granted. And the dues paid to the different organizations is more and more considered as simply an unavoidable tax forced upon them by certain grafters by means of the support of "the bosses." Hence, we find that, while some of the employers express themselves in favor of "incorporation," those who still retained their hold on a sufficient number of the rank and file to uphold the practicability and the effectiveness of their control of the work-

ingmen by control of National and International Unions, they express themselves as does Mark Hanna. He says: "After full consideration, allowing sentiment to play its part upon the minds and hearts of the men, . . . that committee reported unanimously against a sympathetic strike. That report was made to that convention the day following, and was adopted unanimously by 1,000 votes. They agreed to stand by the word they had given in making that contract . . . Therefore, I say that the test has come and the men have won the confidence, . . . and as far as I am concerned, (it) satisfied me that we want no incorporation of labor organizations." Another employer, James E. Miller, of Chicago, admits these functions of the present form of "pure and simple organization in the following explanation: "Whether any of the devices for increasing the responsibility of the unions to the employers, where that end is to be attained by increasing the power of the unions over workmen by enabling these organizations to farm out labor, as do the Chinese companies, will tend to improve the character of the workingman, may well be questioned." That these agreements were effective, and have been understood in their proper sense by the "labor leaders" is shown by the following explanations by W. O. Powell of Troy, N. Y.: "No strike has taken place where a trade agreement has been in force. Strikes only take place where there is no trade agreement, or where trade agreements have willfully been broken by the employers."

John McNeil, of Kansas City, says: "There is no discipline enough among the men, and the employers do not in any way assist the national officers to establish same; while in the old country, of which I am a native, the employers did everything in their power to assist the national officers to establish discipline among the members by helping them to enforce fines upon the members who violated the law."

"John Tobin, editor Shoe Workers' Journal," says: "It is not necessary to incorporate a trade union to insure the inviolability of contracts that may be entered into between trade unions and employers. . . . In our agreements with the shoe manufacturers we surrender the right to strike."

And Herman Grossman, of New York, defends incorporation because his incorporated union was really able to treat with the bosses from a more even basis of equality—its defense against suits for damages by employers, having defeated "the claims of the employers." And then he says:

"The laws should permit trade unions to incorporate on the same basis as co-operative societies, and the right should be given to the organizations to declare the stock of an offending member forfeited for a violation of the rules of the organization."

That explanation is conclusive. Hence, he means that if the agreement between the employer and his agents—his pure and simple contractors for the labor power desired—fails, if the goods cannot be delivered because of the obstinacy of the rank and file, he, Grossman, is in favor of invoking the aid of the law to keep the men out of all other employment, unless he may be able to find an employer with whom these contractors have not yet struck a bargain.

After considering the above remarks and views of the various capitalists and "labor leaders" as quoted, and explained in this article, nothing that may be advocated and introduced by that aggregation, should surprise anybody. It is no wonder that the last thing done by any discontented workman is carried back immediately to the bosses by these very agents. Nor is it surprising that all kinds of technicalities are sought after, and are greedily picked up by them to find an excuse to side with "the bosses." And when, finally they find that the misery among the men resulting from their nefarious bargaining, threatens to degrade certain other men to such a low level that they would set themselves up as competitors to the first contractors or agents in their own line of contracting, then, as may or can be noticed by anybody who will follow up the pure and simple papers, they distract attention from themselves by feigning sadness, while the cry is raised: "a non-union union has been established," or "a spying agency exists now," or "look out for the spy."

But when such pointers are given, and when arguments are produced as are quoted above from articles of our Presidents of various National and International Unions, then it is easily noticed that the worst enemies of genuine labor organization, and the greatest spies to be found in or out of our ranks, are the very men who now have full sway as high officers of our organizations; and the smaller—or lower—officers, as a result of ignorance or rascality, act as their helpers.

Compare the sound principles taught by the Dutch labor organizations with that of the Civic Federationized A. F. of L., and it will be noticed that nothing but class-consciousness among workingmen can re-establish manly action among

THE CLERK

His "Right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness."

The public in general, composed chiefly of the mass of men and women, who earn their bread—with or without butter, as the case may be—in the sweat of their brow, is for this very reason, fairly well informed as to the conditions under which the average toiler exercises his constitutional right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." His life according to law—which means on paper—is as sacred as that of the multi-millionaire, and if a few thousand of his class perish annually in the coal mines, the representatives of the law experience very little trouble in showing that the general cause thereof is the daredevil, life-despising carelessness of the miner. If a few hundred of the working class are cut in two by erratic rotary wheels, crushed or scorched to death in railroad wrecks, or sunk to the bottom of the sea from racing ocean "greyhounds," it will always be found that the same cause is at work in all of these disasters.

The statements regarding missing safeguards, ignorant inspectors, or bribed officials (what sane person can imagine such a thing as a bribed U. S. or State official) are simply the idle emanations of cranks, foreigners, anarchists, etc. They are un-American in their spirit, and any prominent "Captain of Industry," or "eminent statesman" is coarsely that they are so. And even if there should be an iota of truth in these criticisms, why should the worker complain? Does not the constitution give him liberty? If one occupation does not suit him, is he not free to choose another one? Why, for instance, does he not go and remove the wool from the lambs as a broker in Wall street, or why does he not pull it over their eyes as a bishop of some church? Of course, there are mutterings about the big army of the unemployed, about the oppression by trusts, about the discrimination exercised by the government in favor of the capitalist, but these are the empty vapors of idlers, never-do-wells and other irresponsible people, whose mental faculties have been affected by the all-too-powerful beams of the glorious American sun of liberty! Profound sociologists, without ever leaving their academic chairs, prominent savants, immersed in their studies for the natural terms of their respective lives, astute editors, cooped up all day in their sanctuaries, have clearly demonstrated the accuracy of this observation, not alone to their satisfaction, but also to that of the "better element."

And as to the "pursuit of happiness"—why, it is far more difficult for the laborer's youngster to hit "the fat" shooting marble with his playmates than for his father to successfully chase this blessed state. Does not Thomas A. Kempis say that true happiness proceeds from the inner man? Does not every priest, minister and mullah; does not every sky-pilot in creation testify to the truth of this doctrine? Of course the term "inner man" should be applied only to the soul, not to the stomach, else the pursuit of the much-desired goal might become just a trifle elusive.

But this article does not purport to depict the blissful existence of the toiler in general, it merely aims to bring before the eyes of my fellow workers the conditions under which one particular class of wage slaves, the clerks in the smaller clothing and dry goods establishments, commonly called "cockroach-store," make use of their constitutional right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

In almost three cases out of four, the proprietor of such an establishment is a "gentleman" of Hebrew extraction, who meandered into these domains upon the very urgent solicitation of the Czar of Russia for the benefit of the latter's peasantry. So at least the government of the Autocrat avers.

Having received a cur-like treatment in his so-called former home, he naturally seeks a congenial avocation, a calling which will remind him of the "dear home," and he generally finds this

the pure and simple confused, misled and cheated workmen.

The Socialist Labor Party as the political class conscious organization, and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as the class conscious organization in the economic field, are the only organizations that hold out to the wage-workers the hope of a better future resulting from manly and conscientious action.—The Wage Worker, official monthly organ of the Michigan Socialist Labor

in the occupation of a peddler. He receives the same treatment in a somewhat milder form in his new home. With a dozen or more "countrymen" he sleeps with his head on his pack, in some foul hole on the East Side, wears "second-hand" clothes and subsists on the plainest and cheapest food. As a result of this life he is, after a few years, enabled to open a store, some small fry affair, some opening between two walls, where door and window are one. During the daytime his stock lies on the sidewalk; at night he carries it in, and sleeps on top of it. Soon he is "unfortunate" enough to have a fire, and after "settling" with the company he opens up a larger place with one show window and gets married—for is not a wife the cheapest help he can get; and, incidentally, does she not bring a rich dowry with her? He now calls himself a "merchant," and after a failure, brought about by bad loans to brothers, brothers-in-law, cousins, etc., he becomes the manager of his wife's store; quite a nice place with two big plate glass windows, and all paid for with the money which the thrifty wife "saved," all of course unknown to him. He has no money left at all—for, would he not pay his debts, if he had? Certainly!

This short sketch of the "boss" will help a good deal to appreciate the conditions under which the "clerk"—who now appears upon the scene—exercises his so-called constitutional rights.

That much is certain; his "sacred" life is never in jeopardy while he is at his occupation, which lasts from sunrise until long, long after Phoebe has stabled his steeds. No "clerk" has ever been ruptured by the lifting of collar boxes or has been afflicted with lockjaw through an excessive use of his vocal organ in his endeavors to convince an obstreperous customer of the superior quality of a pair of pantaloons.

And as he, furthermore, lives close to the store, in order not to lose any sleep, no reckless motorman or engineer will ever be the cause of his sudden demise. Of course, the store air has made him look pretty thin, and the dust has given him a chronic cough; his heart has been affected by the use of stimulants—for every few months, when the "all work and no play" sort of life nauseates him, he goes on a few days' spree—but these are only insignificant trifles, hardly worth while talking about. The "boss" says so, and other "bosses" of the same calibre say so, and, therefore, it must be so. "Merchants" of this sort, surely, would not prevaricate!

Furthermore, does he not possess "liberty"? Can he not do as he likes, if things don't suit him? He is at liberty every morning before 6.30, every evening after 10.30. He is at liberty for fully thirty minutes at noon and another thirty minutes he is free to use as supper-time, and nobody interferes with his freedom while he sleeps. Of course, on Saturday, the busy day of the week, he has to work until 12 o'clock at night; but, then, does not the "boss" make good for that on Sunday and let him "off" between 2 and 3 o'clock p. m.? Surely the "clerk" enjoys liberty to overflowing.

From the foregoing it may be easily concluded that his "pursuit of happiness" must of necessity be guided by the rule of the "Sainted Thomas," and it is very seldom hampered more than three or four times during the day by innocent remarks by the "boss" or his worthy helpmate, such as the following:

"Clerks, nowadays, don't overwork themselves." "I wonder where dem new ties went to?" "I was short two dollars in der cash last night." Of course, these and similar timely observations are very apt to temporarily obstruct the triumphant march on the path to happiness; but, then, what right has a workman to be so sensitive?

With twelve dollars a week, no hard work (and no time in which to "waste" the money) any man ought to be satisfied, and, therefore, happy. So says the "boss."

Such are the blessings which the capitalist system showers on the "cockroach-store" clerk.

G. Ollendorf.

THE GROCERY CLERK.

Works About Ninety Hours Each and Every Week.

The retail grocery clerk in New York City is worse off than in any other large city in this or any other country.

In the city of Glasgow the grocery clerk works from 8.30 a. m. till 7 p. m. five days in the week, and till 9 p. m. on Saturday, or 67½ hours per week. In this city, as a rule, he works from 6 a. m. to 9 p. m. five days a week and on Saturday till 12 p. m., and very often till 1 o'clock on Sunday morning, making a total of at least 90 hours per week. In a great many instances, after working seventeen or eighteen hours on Saturday he is compelled to turn out again at 6 or 7 o'clock on Sunday morning and work until 10 o'clock, and then it is the law he has to thank for getting free at that hour, as it says that all grocery stores shall be closed at 10 o'clock on Sunday.

CRITCHLOW CRAWLS

BELIEVES COWARDICE BETTER THAN REASONING TO COMBAT CONFUSION.

He, Therefore, Refuses to Meet the Socialist Labor Party in Debate to Prove That the "Socialist," Alias "Social Democratic" Party, Is a Bona Fide Socialist Movement.

Cleveland, O., May 16.—The enclosed challenge to debate was mailed to W. G. Critchlow, Secretary of the State committee of the "Socialist Party" by registered letter, No. 1271, on May 5, 1903, and receipt therefor was returned with his signature from Dayton, O., the headquarters of the State committee of said "party," dated May 6, 1903.

Through courtesy we did not give it out for publication. Critchlow has not replied in any way, shape, or manner. We have decided to expose the cowardice of Critchlow and his associates by publishing the challenge without any more delay.

James Matthews.

State Executive Committee of Ohio, Socialist Labor Party.

Cleveland, O., May 4, 1903.

Mr. Critchlow:

Sir:—During the last municipal election throughout the State of Ohio, the Socialist Labor Party, by means of petitions, succeeded to secure a place for its ticket upon the official ballot in various localities. In the cities of Canton and Hamilton, the "Socialist" Party, through you, its State secretary and local members of your "Party" entered a protest with the local boards of elections of the above-named cities. Upon the plea that the "similarity of names" tended to confuse the voters, you prayed that the Socialist Labor Party be refused a place upon the official ballot. The result, of course, was that your ridiculous plea was not entertained.

While we do not agree with you that the "similarity of names is confusing" (because these wage-workers who come within the pale of Socialist Labor Party agitation are thoroughly apprised of the difference between the two organizations, and if there be any confusion, your Party is the confusing element in the case) we do, however, agree with you, when through the above action on your part in trying to keep the Socialist Labor Party off the ballot, you tacitly admit that there is no room for two (bona fide) Socialist movements in American politics. Either one or the other is perpetrating a fraud upon the working class.

The Socialist Labor Party is going to hold its State convention on the 30th of May, 1903, in the city of Columbus, O. From what we regard as reliable source, we are informed that your party is going to hold its State convention at the same place and date.

A common method of reasoning tells us that nothing will bring out a point more clearly and help to clear up any possible confusion as a well regulated and properly conducted argument bearing upon the point in question.

Perceiving your anxiety to protect your "Party" even to the point of pleading your cause before local boards of elections, we are justified to conclude that you are ready to protect your position at all times and against all comers. Perceiving, furthermore, that the fundamental basis of the bona fide Socialist movement is the principle of the class struggle, we are again justified to conclude that the party which claims to be the advocate of Socialism and at the same time deviates from the cardinal principle of Socialism is the fraud in this contesting situation.

We therefore challenge the "Socialist Party" through you, its State secretary, to choose a representative of your "Party" for the purpose of meeting a representative of the Socialist Labor Party in public discussion in the city of Columbus on Saturday, May 30, or Sunday, May 31, upon the following question:

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party is the only political party that strictly adheres to the principles of the class struggle in the defence of working class interests. Our representative to take the affirmative, yours the negative side, or vice versa, subject to your option.

Hoping to receive answer from you at the earliest possible moment and no later than Saturday, May 16, 1903, in order to provide ample time for mutual arrangements, we are, most sincerely yours, The Ohio State Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party.

James Matthews, Secretary.
566 Lorain street, Cleveland, O.
Section Cleveland will send a full delegation to Columbus, twelve in all. J. M.

Ohio State Convention.

To delegates and others attending the Ohio State Convention, S. L. P., the committee appointed by Section Columbus to arrange for the convention, which will be held in the city of Columbus on Saturday, May 30, wishes to announce that the convention will be held in Buckeye Hall, 71½ East State street.

Delegates desiring accommodations are recommended to the Hotel Star, 227-229 North High street, where reasonable rates prevail. Oscar Freer, Organizer, Section Columbus, Columbus, O.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

TRASHY LITERATURE AND THE PARTY PRESS

There is a most dangerous trap door in the path of every individual when he first becomes interested in the Socialist movement, and that is the one which, to the tutored eye of the revolutionist, is marked in large type, "Trashy Literature."

Trashy, so-called, social-economic literature, has sprung up of late like mushrooms in a polluted swamp, and as a mind-poisoner it is the most formidable competitor that the dime novel or Police Gazette ever had. Taking the stuff all through, from such a one as "News from Nowhere," that possesses at least some literary and artistic value, through to that other dream, Spencer's "Coming Slavery" in dreamland operation, namely, Bellamy's "State Socialism," better known as "Looking Backward," and "Equality," to the infinite number of other dreams which have followed, in each of which the dreamer rides his own hobby, is enough to produce an incurable state of mental confusion. "Looking Backward" and "News from Nowhere" are, however, not entirely without value to the advanced student of Socialism, because of the negative effect which they are bound to produce on a mind well tutored in scientific Socialist economy. "Equality" is, to say the least, stupidly tiresome. While "Looking Backward" has at least the freshness and originality of a dream, "Equality" puts one in mind of a person having had a pleasant dream and waking, unwilling to give it up, hence turning over in bed he forces his eyes shut, and, half in a stupor, half awake, perpetuates his dream and wears his mind.

"Popularization." Upon the dreams follow an innumerable amount of "popularizations," consisting, for the most part, of quotations from the Socialist classics interwoven with the writer's own hobby and "interpretation." The best that can be said of this class of literature is that it is useless.

"Official Magazines." Last in this grand procession comes the array of current papers and magazines—"official" and non-official—that has been brought into this cold world by the God-ordained editors, preachers, professors and teachers with which the Social Democracy has become overrun. Each rides a hobby, most have an "axe to grind" and all are floating in space, more or less, and individually and collectively they are without the moral foundation that alone can proceed from a sound movement to which they would be responsible, hence whatever facts they may advance—usually intermingled with a good deal of nonsense—are all the more dangerous.

The S. L. P. literature alone is sound, because it rests upon the bedrock of the solid proletarian organization from which it proceeds, and to which its writers are, as a whole, morally responsible. Hence, such hobbies as its individual writers may have to start with are soon pruned away, and if, in this process some heaven inspired genius feels obliged to seek a broader field the loss is not irreconcilable. At all hazards, the party's literature must be kept sound.

The Necessity for Sound Literature. Therefore, I should say that the greatest favor we at this time can bestow upon the awakening proletarian is to guide jealously his early literary associations, because nothing is so important as a good start. Let a proletarian once be entrenched behind the barricade of sound economic knowledge and no amount of loose powder can scorch him; let the cloud-chasing once get the better of him and it is almost a Herculean task to bring him right.

Therefore it is that the sound member of the S. L. P. has to-day become fairly a "crank" on the press, and is actually ready to "go to the extreme" of pronouncing him a traitor to the cause who makes an attack upon it. Therefore, it is on the other hand that the enemies of the sound proletarian movement, the S. L. P., make their first attack upon the press, because they recognize

nize too well that, if the working class press that is now being built up in the form of The Daily, Weekly and Monthly People and the Labor News Company publications, should succeed a monument as powerful as it is sound must, in the near future, as inevitably follow as day follows night. But, on the other hand, could this press be throttled now, in its mere infancy, the proletarian movement would also be throttled, at least, for a time, because the poisonous weeds of trashy literature would be able to quench or, at least, hamper, the growth of sound reasoning.

The Need of a Daily Press. Now comes another question: Why is a current press so positively or indeed at all necessary? Have we not the entire philosophy of Socialism written half a century or so ago? Do not the works

of the Lord's Prayer; but as to any practical live understanding of the proletarian movement he had none.

The Socialist Press a Searchlight. Now, the only way to apply scientific Socialist economics and philosophy is to turn their searchlight upon the institutions of capitalism, i. e., capitalism in action, not as it presented itself fifty years ago only, nor ten years ago, nor yesterday—but on its living self from day to day. This searchlight must penetrate every nook and corner, must expose not only capitalist exploitation itself, but equally the capitalist actors in the drama, and, moreover, every fraud, freak and fakir who acts in the capacity of "supe" or scenshifter on the capitalist stage and thus aids in carrying out the acts that enthrall the vast humbugged audience—the working class—to their

this and a good deal more must be combined in the "head" of the S. L. P. press. The Argus Eyes of the Socialist Press. But the press of the proletarian movement needs and must have something more than a "head" in order to be a power and withstand all attack. This something is the wideawake "rank and file" of the movement. This makes our press as full of eyes as Argus, so that if any number should apparently be lulled to sleep, yet there are always some awake in some corner of the land, and on every occasion these Argus eyes keep keen watch on capitalist corruption. It is they who make the S. L. P. press a "live press," it is they who make it incorruptible, unassailable and invulnerable. This peculiarity of our press, capitalist intelligence has never been able to penetrate, as the entire life-giving power of a capitalist paper is located in the "office." Hence, if the "head" of a capitalist paper is "cut off" or bought off or silenced in any way that paper is very much affected. Accordingly all attack on the S. L. P. press has so far been at its "head."

WHEN LABOR CALLS

A "Transval National Hymn."

[Written Especially for The People by James Connolly, Dublin, Ireland.]

When Labor calls her children forth,
A waiting world to win,
Earth's noblest breed—true men of worth—
Her ranks shall enter in.
Then, comrades, all prepare, that we
May hear that call anon,
And drive the hosts of tyranny
Like clouds before the dawn.
And drive our foes,
And drive our foes,
Our foes like clouds before the dawn.

Thou knowest long has Labor groaned—
A robbed and beaten thrall—
Whilst Capital, on high enthroned,
Reigned, lording over all.
But Time rolled on, and earth and sky
His power to man revealed,
And Science echoes Labor's cry:
"King Capital must yield!"
King Capital,
King Capital,
King Capital at last must yield.

We work and wait, till womb of time
Shall give fair Freedom birth—
To Labor's hosts that hope sublime
Regenerates the earth;
And by that hope we tollers fired
To nobler deeds shall be,
That we may guide, by it inspired,
Our Class to Liberty.
To Liberty,
To Liberty,
To guide our Class to Liberty.

undoing. This searchlight of Socialist philosophy can be thrown only by a live Socialist press. As the mere fact of the existence of electricity does not give us the arc or searchlight without the appliances which give it these forms, combined in the right manner, so with the social science, without the appliance that makes it a light-giving faculty it is valueless.

What Makes a Sound Socialist Press. Now, what is it that makes a sound Socialist press—a real searchlight of Socialist truths? Printer's ink in itself is as good a medium for corrupting and befuddling as for educating, for teaching untruths and half truths as truths. Hence this staff of the Socialist press must be governed in all its work by scientific Socialist economics, history and philosophy. But this is not enough. It requires also a penetrative glance, so that the smallest and apparently most insignificant moves of the enemy can be seen through at once. In short, it takes aggressiveness as well as prudence, untold energy and activity, as well as quiet deliberation, generalship as well as statesmanship, a great deal of pugnacity and an equal amount of persuasion. All

scendants for ever and ever more. Some such peculiarity is attached to the Socialist Labor Party and its press. Every attempt imaginable has been made on its "head"—the executive, managing and editorial departments, the speakers and writers—to separate it from the body, to corrupt it, to swell it, to tire it, to batter and abuse it; but only for a moment does it look as if it was off forever, and the "monster" killed. Then it is there again, staring the enemy in the face, to his great dismay and discomfort, and, unless some stratagem can be resorted to, it will so continue until the day when the proletarian movement and its press have fulfilled their historic mission—i. e., when the working class has emancipated itself from wage slavery.

The Press Must Teach the Class Struggle. Again, as to the necessity of our press. One important part, one cornerstone of the Socialist philosophy, is the class struggle. Now, the class struggle is not something that can be caught in a bottle and analyzed at every opportunity. It is continually going on, and, therefore, must be comprehended in motion. Therefore, the kinetoscope of Socialist science

must ever be at hand through the agency of the press to photograph it, so to speak, and exhibit it before the wage workers in all its phases. The Socialist Press As a Working Class Guide.

Again, the organization of the working class is a live question. The works of Marx teach beyond doubt How It Is to Be Done; but the question before us to-day is to see that It Is Being Done, and it is in this Doing that the press is so valuable. In order to have an organization and a movement that will be a power each unit requires, not only to be properly constructed, but in touch with every other unit in such a manner that they form a complete whole, each doing its part, yet all interdependent upon each other. The fact that I have a fine gold case, a stem, wheels properly constructed, etc., does not give me a good watch unless all these units are placed in a certain relation to one another, and kept in proper order, wound, cleaned at times, etc. Exactly so with the Socialist movement, and to keep this machinery in motion the stem, so to say, is our press and nothing else can take its place.

Criticisms Upon Our Party Press. Now, there is a great deal of complaint about our press—i. e., its enemies set up a terrible noise against it, and some so-called friends frightened thereby mimic them in order to shift the responsibility. But to the tutored ear of the revolutionist it is but the howl of the hungry wolf that would swallow us without all doubt could he reach us, only but that in the meantime he has been wounded by the hunter on his trail.

That the party press to-day is not what it "ought to be," I for one am surely ready to admit; but neither is a cooing infant in the cradle what "it ought to be," yet, if it is healthy, vigorous and bright, it is its parents' pride and for it they will sacrifice everything in the hope that when the infant is a man he will be their joy and support. The parent who for a momentary fear that the child should not turn out well would throttle it in its infancy would be considered insane. So with our press. It is but an infant to-day, but it is a bright, healthy, vigorous and promising one, and it is the legitimate offspring of the Socialist movement in the United States, hence it is our duty, individually and collectively, to guide it from the evils that lurk in its path, to support it during childhood and tenderly guard its development to manhood.

Lowell and Abuse. One of the most frequent objections to our press is that it is abusive and offensive. Now, comrades, friends and sympathizers, do not forget this—we are a revolutionary movement, hence the ideas we propagate are diametrically opposed to all current opinion, consequently, however we may express them, if we express them truly and uncompromisingly, we are bound to be offensive. Every revolutionary idea in all history has been offensive.

To quote Lowell in his comment upon this very insinuation against the abolitionists:

"They were harsh, but shall you be so shocked at hard words
Who have beaten your pruning hooks
Up into swords?
Why should you stand aghast at their fierce wordy war,
If you scalp one another for bank or for tariff?
Your calling them cutthroats and knaves
All day long
Does not prove that the use of hard language is wrong.
While the world's heart beats quicker to think of such men
As signed Tyranny's doom with a bloody steel pen."

—Olive M. Johnson.
Minneapolis, Minn.

"My Friend, Mr. Crooks"
Sir Henry Bannerman.

yet in face of the working class, the common enemy, they are as one in heart and in mind. So too with politicians of Mr. Crooks' type—a "type" which is sadly needed" according to the London Liberal Federation. The labor fakir so far as politics are concerned is a comparatively recent development in this country, and as a new and intruding element in Liberal and capitalist politics is looked upon with some degree of disfavor among the older elements of the party. He represents to some extent a rival and a competitor for the spoils of office. Thus it is that the Burts, the Steadmans, the Maddingtons and the Snowdons are only allowed to come forward to fight forlorn hopes—to contest constituencies that can be won only by appealing to the class spirit of the workers and a playing upon it to the tune of the labor fakir. In large industrial districts where the working class, as a result of Socialist propaganda, are beginning to awaken to their class interests, there the "labor leader" is brought forward. Capital, to quote the leaflet of the National Liberal Federation, "sadly need men of this type"—their function being to maintain and perpetuate capitalist representation by putting on a mask of "labor" politics.

This has reached the highest pitch of perfection in the Australasian Colonies. Where we have capitalist production, with all its attendant features, poverty, prostitution, unemployed competition, the sweating system, strikes, lockouts and slumdown, co-existent with "labor" governments and "labor" premiers. Thus it was that at the start the Liberals halted between two opinions. If it were possible to gain the seat by some capitalist or barrister than their policy would have been to show Mr. Crooks the door. A labor leader, no matter how docile, is not wanted if one of the older class of politicians can be made to serve. But when it was agreed that only by an appeal to the working class spirit and by affecting a zeal for working class interests could Woolwich be won for Liberal capitalism, then the candidature of Mr. Crooks received almost unanimous support from these club organizations and papers. But, we are told, Mr. Crooks did not run as a Liberal, but as a labor candidate. To be sure he called himself a labor candidate and there his pretensions to laborism ended. To paraphrase Shakespeare "A Liberal by any other name smells just as noisomely, if not more so, than before."

Mr. Crooks' program where it was intelligible and coherent at all was essentially a Liberal program. There was nothing in it that the mildest of mild whigs could take exception to. It was a labor program only in name. The foremost item in it was a promise to endeavor to secure that government orders should be given to the government works at Woolwich instead of being given to Kynoch's or any other outside firm. That simply meant that the Woolwich workers should be exploited in Woolwich by a capitalist government instead of having to go elsewhere—to leave that fairest of all corners of God's fair earth and the delightful conditions of life and work obtaining there, to work for some private capitalist. It is almost unnecessary to say that while certain vague promises were made as to housing, nothing was said as to the most acute evil that afflicts the workers at the present time, the unemployed problem. So long as a man is a Liberal at heart, the member of a Liberal organization, taking his stand upon a purely Liberal program the Liberals were not likely to quarrel with him on a mere question of name. They know well enough in what lobby they may expect to find him when they want him—even though he may strive to give "an artistic verisimilitude" to his laborism by joining a special labor group. Is it likely that our masters, those who live upon the daily robbery of the workers, is it likely that they the "persons of social and political distinction" would give their wholehearted support to a candidate and finance his campaign unless they were well assured that he was one of their creatures, one with the mark of the beast upon his forehead? Is it likely that Lord Rosebery, the patron of John Burns, would lend carriages on election day to a real working class candidate? Is it probable that a representative of the cause of the workers would have received the congratulations of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman and Lord Tweedmouth, or that the Marquis of Queensberry would have telegraphed "I much admire your opinions and hope some day to meet you."

A man is known by the company he keeps. When we see him beset with the praises of our robbers and belauded by every slimy fakir from John Burns and Will Thorne downwards we know whom we have to deal with. Behold the products of the Labor Representation Committee:—Mr. Shackleton, J. P., Liberal and advocate of child labor, Mr. W. F. Black, Liberal journalist and United Irish League nominee, "Bob" Smillie, anti-alien immigrationist and supporter of Catholic Universities and sectarian education; and now Mr. Will Crooks, Liberal and National Democratic Leaguer, whom the Liberals describe as being a "sadly needed type in the House of Commons."

Comrades, a position of great strategic importance in the warfare between capital and labor has been won for capital by the treachery and guile of the labor fakir. It is for us to take it. But before we can hope to do this we must deal with the traitors within our own circle—those who while this deception was being practiced upon the working

class helped its consummation either by their active support or by their neutrality.—M. McK., Socialist Monthly, Edinburgh, Scotland.

MILLS DROPS SCHEME

Fears Panic and Sees Greater Results From Politics.

Walter Thomas Mills, the Socialist agitator and head of the International School of Social Economy, has abandoned the project of building a co-operative home for workmen in Rosedale. In a circular letter to persons who had gone into the scheme, he says:

"Kindly find herewith — dollars in repayment in full of your payments on contract for rooms at Terrace Woods. I further cancel the contract with this repayment, and for the following reasons:

"I am fully convinced, after a careful looking over of the situation, that the greatest financial panic ever known is sure to come long before the installments under this contract can possibly be paid. In such a case relations of great embarrassment would be sure to result, working people finding themselves unable to continue payments, and sums paid for current expenses would be inadequate, so that the institution would be subject to serious hardship. I have concluded to return your payments while I am able to do so.

"On the other hand, that politically the coming presidential election will be the most important in the history of this country. While the work so far undertaken has demonstrated to me beyond all question the soundness and practicability, as well as the desirability, of the undertaking to build for the better accommodation of my school, I am fully convinced that my present duty is to devote all of my strength, time and earnings to matters bearing wholly on the coming election. . . . The work of my school will be pushed more earnestly than ever, but in rented quarters. . . ."

Mr. Mills says that more than \$12,000 had been subscribed toward the buildings. Collections had been made on these subscriptions sufficient to cover all current expenses, including the \$1,000 due on the land May 1. As this payment was optional, he did not make it.

Mr. Mills has gone to New York to begin a tour of speech-making for the Socialist party. The abandonment of his enterprise was a surprise to many local Socialists and trade union members, but others received the news with satisfaction, because they regarded it as a visionary scheme, whose impracticability had often been demonstrated. The view of most Socialists is that an isolated co-operative movement, in the midst of capitalist conditions is foredoomed to failure. These men propose to nationalize all industry and all land simultaneously through political action.—Kansas City World of May 4.

INSTALLING MACHINES.

New Jersey Glass Companies Introducing Blowers.

Woodbury, N. J., May 17.—Only about six weeks remain of the glass season in South Jersey.

The recent introduction of bottle making machinery in some of the South Jersey factories is full of meaning to the blowers. For years the manufacturers have been looking into these or similar machines, but until now little confidence has been placed in them. This new arrangement has proven a marvelous success. It is claimed that one machine will do what six men are capable of doing in the way of turning out ware, which is also said to be much finer than that done by hand. One of these has been tried at Clayton with such success that the firm at once got an option on several more. They cost about \$800.

Even with the machines the glassblowers will remain. There are many medicine and other firms using thousands of gross of bottles each year. They will not have war made other than by hand.

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An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.
MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP
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AND TAKE NO OTHER KIND.
Twenty-Five Cents a Bottle.

LABOR "CROOKS"

Few bye-elections have caused such widespread excitement and interest as that which took place at Woolwich, a fortnight ago when Mr. Will Crooks, the nominee of the Liberals and the I. L. P. defeated the Tory candidate, Mr. Geoffrey Drage, by a majority of over three thousand votes. This was the more remarkable inasmuch as Woolwich had hitherto been a Tory stronghold—so much so that at the last election Lord Charles Beresford was returned unopposed.

Mr. Crooks, the successful candidate, is a Liberal and member of that radical organization called the National Democratic League. He is, we have been informed, a man of "robust imperialism," of "commonsense views," and "an opponent of the claptrap of Socialism." His supporters included Liberals, Radicals, Temperance Societies, Free Church Council, United Irish League, the Labor Representation Committee, and the Independent Labor party. The bulk of the money subscribed for his election expenses came from Liberals and Liberal Associations. The Plumstead Radical Club guaranteed £100, and the London Liberal Federation issued a leaflet in his support which contained the significant statement that they (the Liberals) "sad-

ly needed men of his type." A resolution of support was passed by the London Metropolitan Radical Association, who at the same meeting rejected a resolution protesting against the sentence of penal servitude for life passed upon Arthur Lynch. The Executive Council of the National Democratic League unanimously resolved "that hearty support be given to Mr. Will Crooks in his candidature for Woolwich." On the election day we are told "the streets were alive with conveyances lent to the labor candidate by persons of social and political distinction, and among them were a phenomenal number of motor cars and private conveyances. All sections of the Liberal party contributed to Mr. Crooks' organization." Lord Rosebery was among those who sent carriages. Mr. Drage, curiously enough, seemed to be not so well supplied with vehicles as his labor opponent." It was also pointed out that Mr. Crooks had a Liberal agent in every one of his committee rooms. The Liberal press all over the country, but particularly the Daily Mail, the Star, the Morning Leader and Reynolds' Newspaper worked hard on his behalf. When the result of the poll was declared telegrams of congratulation were received

from Liberals of all shades, from Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman and Lord Tweedmouth down to Mr. Keir Hardie. In fact never before did the so-called Independent Labor party identify itself so unblushingly with the Liberal party. On previous occasions it has generally made some efforts, however slight, to hide its political "cow-trading" with capitalist parties as much as possible from the public view. On this occasion they followed in the train of the Liberals without the least attempt at concealment. While the contest was in process nothing was said that might have the effect of hurting the feelings of the Liberals or of disturbing the harmony which for the time being existed between the various sections of Mr. Crooks' supporters. It was not until after the election that the I. L. P. began to exalt its horn on high and to claim a monopoly of the credit for the victory. This has been exposed by their quondam associates of the Liberal and Radical press as an impudent falsification of the facts of the case. Broadly speaking they base their claim upon two facts—(1) The tendency displayed by certain Liberal papers and by certain sections of the party to stand aloof from Mr.

Crooks' candidature at the start; (2) that their candidate in his speeches and election address used the name labor instead of Liberals. It is true that at the beginning the Liberals displayed little enthusiasm. The lion's skin of professed labor principles terrified them. But when, as time went on, they beheld the long protruding ears and heard the strident notes of the ass, their fears were allayed and they fell upon his neck as a friend and a brother. The unthinking spectator is often deluded into regarding the professional jealousy which exists between one shade of capitalist politician and another as pointing to a difference in class and kind. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The antagonism which exists between say a Nonconformist Whig like Perks, and a Nationalist like William O'Brien sometimes misleads the unwary into concluding that inasmuch as Perks is an unmistakable defender of capitalism, those whom he attacks must needs be worthy of the sympathy and confidence of the workers. As a matter of fact William O'Brien and Perks represent the same class, and although they may and do belong to different sections of it, sections too whose interests may clash,

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888.....2,060
In 1892.....21,157
In 1896.....36,594
In 1900.....34,191
In 1902.....53,617

A VALUABLE SPECIMEN.

What is being called the "strike epidemic" does not cease to bring to the surface some remarkable "revelations." Among these is the "revelation" of the Hecla Iron Works.

The Hecla Iron Works is—or shall we henceforth have to say "was"?—a profit sharing concern. Mr. Francis Jackson, its secretary, says:

"The 5,000 men in our employ have been receiving high wages. They have been happy and contented, and they have been benefited yearly by the co-operative system, whereby they have been sharing in the profits."

Like a clap from a clear sky, these idyllic conditions suddenly come to stop; nay, worse, they are transformed into—well, we won't use the word. In short, the men are all locked-out. Let Mr. Francis Jackson tell the tale to its end:

"The men put in a demand for a fifty-hour a week basis, and that finishers be paid 36 cents an hour, and helpers 25 cents an hour. The company decided on emphatic action; it refused, and locked them all out. MEN CANNOT BE MEMBERS OF A COMPANY AND ACT THAT WAY AT THE SAME TIME."

Certainly an odd state of things!

Here we have partners (that's the theory) proposing to exercise partnership rights, and yet getting incontinently bounced for it. Partnership implies partnership; ownership implies the right to enjoy the thing owned. The enjoyment of a business concern is in direct measure to what one gets out of it; nor is the idea of "enjoyment" compatible with wages insufficient for civilized livelihood, or with hours incompatible with civilized manhood. Here, then, we have 5,000 partners (remember, that's the theory), on one side, and 10, or perhaps, only 5, on the other; and yet the 5, or be it 10, have it in their power to, and actually do throw the 5,000 flat upon their backs on the side-walk, and upon a quarter of a minute's notice, at that!

No wonder Mr. Francis Jackson is dazed, staggered by the question, How did we manage it? It is not presuming too much to imagine the 5,000 partners, dazed, in their turn, and, in their turn, staggered by the question, How did they manage it?

Like volcanic eruptions, that throw up from the bowels of the earth concealed minerals, never dreamed to have been there, and which are then picked up from the surface, studied, and enlighten the race upon Nature's secrets, this "strike epidemic" is throwing up queer specimens of, to some, never dreamed of socio-economic minerals. One of these is the Hecla Iron Works lockout of 5,000 "partners." May these 5,000 partners and the 55,000,000 and more wage slave population carefully study the specimen. It will enlighten them on what there is in "profit sharing."

SOCIALISM VINDICATED.

The correctness of the theories of class-conscious Socialism has once more been vindicated by the utterances of its opponents.

For many generations the Socialist has pointed out the inefficacy of factory legislation as a remedy for the social ills to which labor is subjected. Recognizing that under capitalism, owing to the class character of society, all government is class government, the Socialist has pointed out that factory legislation, even when favorably enacted, will be interpreted, enforced and adopted in accordance with the necessities of capitalist production for profit. This claim has been strenuously fought by the leaders of pure-and-simple unionism—the Gomperses, Mitchells, et al. Ever watchful of the economic and political interests of their masters, they have denied, and are denying, the class character of society. They have taught, and are teaching, that the interests of the laboring

and the capitalist classes are identical, and that, consequently, factory legislation, enacted with "a due regard for the interests of those concerned," could be effectively enacted and applied. Accordingly, they marshal "the forces of organized labor" for or against certain legislation and certain legislators—always capitalists and anti-Socialists—and when the result is the passage of a bill they point to it as an illustration of "the practical character of trades unionism" and a demonstration of "the visionary character of Socialism."

The proof of the pudding lies in the eating! From Chicago comes the testimony of Henry D. Lloyd. He has tasted the factory legislation pudding, with the result that his face is awry and he looks as if he would vomit. Reviewing the English book, "A History of Factory Legislation," covering centuries of experience, he finds, with the authors, that "of all the nineteenth century inventions in social organization, factory legislation is the most widely diffused. . . . And yet the morass of sweating in the greatest center of wealth (and he might have added pure-and-simple unionism) in the world—London—is growing, not lessening."

Transferring the scene of investigation from England to America, especially Illinois, in which Chicago, another "center of wealth" and pure-and-simple unionism, is located, Lloyd is forced to say: "In itself it has done to some workers much good, but as a remedy for the ills brought upon society, and even the workers, FACTORY LEGISLATION HAS PROVED A FAILURE."

Lloyd, with the convenient blindness of pure-and-simplers, attributes this failure to a wonderful cause. He says: "Dissipated smokers have the tobacco heart; our civilization has the factory heart." This is absurd. Our civilization has capitalism, which Lloyd and the labor leaders, like his friends Mitchell and Gompers, uphold—via the Republican and Democratic parties. With the class exploitation, the class government and the economic pressure of capitalism, factory legislation is bound to be ineffective, no matter how great the philanthropic desire and pure-and-simple attempt to end the social ills, against which it is directed, may be.

Socialism, not factory legislation, is the solution of the social problem. This the Lloyds and their admission of failure make clear. Socialism is thus vindicated once more!

JACKDAWS GALORE.

As is well known, the intrepidity of the Socialist Labor Party frequently brings it into close quarters with the enemy. The attitude of the Party, at the time, for instance, of McKinley's assassination, when the anarchist capitalist class sought to make capital of the crime by persecuting the Socialist Labor Party's speakers, brought on a series of encounters in which the Party attested its mettle, and stood unshakable on the breach. Two leading and quite recent instances of the Party's moral vigor were the Beaumont, Texas, and the still more recent Buffalo conflict.

In Beaumont, a Socialist Labor Party speaker bearded the criminal capitalist class, there represented by its hoodlum. These had threatened him with bodily harm if he spoke. He remained untrifled, and spread the light of the New Evangel among the wage slaves that the recently discovered oilwells had attracted. The threat was carried out; he was arrested, taken out of jail with the connivance of the officials, and white-capped mercilessly. In Buffalo, police chicanery and bluff did all in its might to muzzle the Party's speakers. A long conflict ensued, followed by arrests and all manner of threats. The upshot in both places is that free speech is now safe there. The physical outrage committed upon the S. L. P. man in Beaumont, no less than the final route of the Buffalo police wrought a victory for the Cause of Civilization, and it is a matter of public notoriety that the victory was won for the Cause of Civilization by S. L. P. men, and none other.

And now the jackdaws come trotting upon the scene. The press of the Bogus Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party is just blossoming forth with reports from Chase, the "Socialist" (Social Democratic) ex-Mayor of Haverhill, written from Beaumont, in which he refers to the Beaumont outrage in such vague terms as to make it appear that the hero of the occasion was one of his own fellow Bogus Socialists; and the Erie, Pa., "People," another Bogus Socialist party paper—true to its imitation-counterfeit name, by which it tries to look like the respected organ of the Socialist

Labor Party, and true also to the instincts of its present editor, one Wanhope, in point of physical, mental and moral potheriness the fit one-time successor of "A. M. Simons, Editor" on the Chicago "Socialist"—caps the climax by reporting the great Buffalo victory, won by the S. L. P., in similar vague-fraudulent manner.

The Beaumont and Buffalo events were the deeds of men. Only men can dare, and suffer, and achieve like that. Nor can men be the product of a Bogus Socialist concern, the breath in whose nostrils is false pretence and "wabble." When the jelly-fish Chases and Wanhopes, together with all their political kith and kin, were skulking clean out of sight in safe corners, it was the men of the S. L. P., who, from Beaumont to Buffalo, and across the continent, stood upon the breach, and, unbending, held open the gates—Free Speech—for the Revolution.

Like the jackdaw in the fable, these Bogus Socialists, who played the craven in the hour of danger, are hereby plucked by the S. L. P. of the stolen feathers that they seek to glory in; and they are left to be pecked by the onlooking masses, whom they seek to impose upon, who are getting "onto" them, and before whom they stand plucked, a sorry figure of uncovered dishonesty.

PROFESSOR GREEN GOODS.

A certain magazine, which, for a moment, we shall leave unnamed, addresses itself against the Socialist claim that modern legislation is class legislation, capitalist class legislation, in the interest of capitalism. It argues this way:

"There are hardly any laws made in this country in the interest of capital; on the contrary, the whole trend of legislation is against capital. Witness the Congress that has just adjourned. The greatest part of its time was taken up in discussing measures against trusts and corporations."

It will be noticed that the "argument" carefully avoids setting up the claim that legislation is in favor of labor. That claim, once common, has been knocked so completely into a cocked hat that the magazine in question does not care to set up a target so clear and distinct that it can be hit. Its argument is therefore negative. The color of "Labor Legislation" having "washed out," what is now attempted is the color of "Anti-capitalist Legislation." The only difference in meeting and overthrowing this present dodge, when compared with the former false claim of "Labor Legislation" is the difference between attacking a wriggling snake and attacking a bold wolf. The "Labor Legislation" claim was a bold, brazen lie; this "Anti-capitalist Legislation" is a sneaking false pretence.

The discussions in Congress have been extensively "on measures against trusts,"—watch the snake wriggling. Is a discussion against trusts necessarily a discussion against capitalism, i. e., against the system that exploits the non-property classes by the property classes? Assuredly not. It is no more than that a discussion against a highway robber is necessarily a discussion against highway robbery. A discussion against a highway robber is one against highway robbery only when the criminal is at the bar of justice, before which he is arraigned simply as an exponent of highway robbery, and what really is at the bar is the crime itself. When, however, the "discussion" is conducted between him and a lot of petty robbers, who seek, not the abolition of robbery, but the curbing of the big fellow, who stands in the light of the petty robbers,—when that is the case, it takes a very elaborate dealer in green goods to venture the claim that the discussion is against robbery. And that is just the case with the above quotation.

The smaller capitalist interests have been assailing trusts, never capitalism. Without exception, the discussions in Congress and the laws passed have been in the interest of capital, not infrequently in the interest of trust capital. The Cuban treaty, the sugar schedules, the Panama Canal treaty and so down the list are acts of Congress passed with an eye single upon the promotion of capital and capitalism, with labor left wholly out of consideration. Not until the working class shall have class-consciousness will the public powers will legislation cease to be in the interest of capital, because only then will capitalism itself be in the criminal's dock.

The name of the magazine is now in season. It is "Guntion's Magazine," the property of a gentleman known to fame as a forger of statistics, a falsifier of quotations, and a protege of capitalists to throw dust into the eyes of the work-

ingmen, for all of which reasons he is generally known, not by his one-time name of Professor George Guntion, but by the name of Professor Green Goods.

HOW ABOUT THE SUBWAY "DAGOS?"

The Socialist Labor Party has repeatedly exposed the fraudulent character of the "labor leader." It has made clear that the function of the "labor leader" is to perpetuate and not end the exploitation of the working class. It has shown in fewer words that the "labor leader" is the labor lieutenant of the capitalist class, ready to obey its orders and prosecute its campaigns against working class emancipation.

Current events have piled fact on fact in support of the correctness of the position of the Socialist Labor Party. Just now current events in this the greatest center of the greatest capitalist country in the world are adding more indisputable evidence to this mountainous accumulation of proof.

There is a strike raging on the subway. The Italians engaged in the dangerous work of excavation want more wages. Do we see the "labor leaders"—the Pallases, the Archibalds, et al.—rushing to their support? Do we see them augmenting the advantageous position of the excavators by fraternal assistance, and otherwise adding to the determination of the strikers? Not at all! We see them hastening to bring about the strikers' defeat; we see them maneuvering to break down that determination.

We see these "labor leaders," acting upon the letters received from Contractor McDonald, endeavoring to persuade the strikers to return to work "pending arbitration." We see these "labor leaders," when the men insisted on settlement first and return after, stating that they did not care to be tricked as the miners had been—we see these "labor leaders" inoculating the strikers' officers with the virus of capitalism for whose injection they receive their pay. Failing in this, we next witness these "labor leaders," in their desperation, ordering the return to work of the affiliated trades, and otherwise aiding the capitalist press and police in a vain endeavor to introduce scab labor and stampede the strikers back to work! Is there any doubt as to whose "lieutenants" these "labor leaders" of pure and simple unionism are?

Thus is the S. L. P. position proved once more. The "labor leader" is a capitalist hireling. He batters on the betrayal of the working class. To this he owes his prestige and power. Without it he would be the insignificant nincompoop that he really is.

All thanks to the "dagos" for the lesson they have taught the working class. Credit is due them for their correct working class instincts. When in the future the "labor leader" shall again boast of "what he has done for labor," thanks to the bona fide working class action of these "dago" strikers, the working class can promptly make these boasters shut up by asking:

How about the subway "dagos"?

An American missionary, returning from the Congo "Free" State, tells awful tales of the slavery existing there. The natives are whipped, maimed and beaten. Families are raided at night and the girls sold for ten dollars apiece. The missionary holds King Leopold personally responsible for this condition in the Congo Free State. He says Leopold has become the largest individual rubber merchant in the world. He has driven out of the Congo State practically all the foreign traders or imprisoned the few who remained and protested. He has almost a monopoly of the rubber output. The king deals with the rubber trust here. The rubber, costing him absolutely nothing, is sold to the trust at a low figure.

While this is not an unusual tale, it being similar to that told about the Americans in the Philippines and the Germans in Africa, it illustrates once more the character of capitalistic territorial exploitation. It shows, also, the character of the man who the Church in Belgium helps to combat the Socialist movement, which aims to overthrow that exploitation.

It would be interesting to know in how far this American missionary represents the foreign leaders who are fighting King Leopold's rubber monopoly. Is the rubber trust the source of his inspiration?

A capitalist contemporary thinks it strange that Jews should be slaughtered in a Christian country like Russia. Our contemporary has evidently forgotten the slaughter in the Philippines. If it will look around it will find that slaughter is a characteristic of Christian countries, despite the fact that they profess to walk in the footsteps of the Prince of Peace.

Bebel's "Woman."

Owing to unavoidable technical delays the beginning of the serial publication of the English translation of Bebel's book "Woman," has been postponed until next week.

"NEGLECTIBLE DETAILS"

The Hon. William Jennings Bryan, who does not always talk nonsense, who, on the contrary, whenever he leaves political economy alone, can make very brilliant and exact size-ups, recently illustrated well his penetration in this line.

The recent and sudden bursting forth of the Cleveland boom caused Mr. Bryan to turn upon it the telescope of his knowledge of things. That the boom was called, and presented as, "a spontaneous popular outbreak of the Democratic rank and file" did not affect his vision. He looked through it; saw that the "spontaneous popular outbreak" proceeded from the columns of certain newspapers; and when these newspapers began to be referred to as "Democratic," Mr. Bryan laid down his telescope, and expressed the wish that the "names of the men who really dictate the editorial policy of these papers be disclosed." The size-up was brilliant, it was exact, it was a bull's-eye,—how much so may be judged from the howl it raised from these same representatives of the alleged "spontaneous popular outbreak." One of these, the New York "Times," felt so badly hit that it lost its little head, and declared such a matter—the names of the men who really dictate the editorial policy of these papers—a NEGLECTIBLE DETAIL.

As well might the man, charged with stealing a diamond pin, found secreted in a secret pocket about him, pronounce the circumstance a "negligible detail." It is a detail of importance enough to establish the psychology of theft. And so in this instance, the "negligible detail" is of deep importance to the understanding of the psychology of the political chess game,—a chess game that, just now, is presenting thrilling combinations and situations.

Readers of THE PEOPLE will remember a recent article in these columns in which it was shown that the Presidential nominations of BOTH the two "great parties," and frequently of several of the smaller ones, are dictated by one and the same small coterie of capitalist magnates, and that, with the extremely rare exceptions when national conventions take the bit in their own mouths and run off with it, these nominations are made so as to entertain the voting public, according as the political lay of the land may happen to be. It was shown that the nominees were all settled beforehand and at the same time, the one to be elected being predetermined. It was also shown that, at times, the political lay of the land is such as to give these "back-parlor conventions" many a good headache. Such an emergency is now on. The "negligible details" in the matter are especially instructive.

The present incumbent in the Presidential chair is capitalist up to the handle; as such there are no objections to him. But man is man; the personal equation is inseparable from him; even under the individually-destroying capitalist system and among capitalists themselves, idiosyncrasies sometimes bid defiance to all personal interests. Such is the case with Mr. Roosevelt. He is altogether too "picturesque." He is a bull in a china shop. As such he is a source of worry to the cool-headed, dispassionate coterie of capitalist magnates who dictate nominations. Hanna is their beau ideal. But can they knock down Roosevelt with him? If they could the coast would be clear. But it is doubtful that they can.

It is in view of this doubt that the Cleveland boom has been started. If Roosevelt can not be lured of the nomination, then the nomination of Cleveland "by" the Democratic party would save the situation. Roosevelt would be left in the lurch, he would make a campaign of hysterics, the Hanna coterie being underhanded wholly, financially and morally on Cleveland's side. Cleveland is the haven of refuge of non-partisan capitalism from Rooseveltian "high jinks."

But at this stage, and all athwart, there comes a third, and highly perturbing "negligible detail." It is the Hearst boom. Hearst, as well as Hanna, is a genuine product of capitalism. But while the latter represents the solid, sober dollars-and-cents and get-more-of-them spirit of capitalism, the former represents the reverse of the medal: the "prodigal son" element: the what-have-we-got-all-this-money-for-if-not-to-buy-all-we-like-with element. A Presidential chair is coveted by this element, as at other times it may covet a woman's honor, or any other "gew-gaw." This element is brilliant; it, of course, verges on the demagogic; what is more, it has the knack, which the Hanna element lacks, of absorbing whatever crude revolutionary electricity may be lying around loose in the atmosphere. This element can develop, occasionally, great strength. What strength it can develop, and what power for mischief is latent in it, the history of Rome is replete with illustrations on. The Hearst boom, then, comes athwart the calculations of the sober, "on all fours" Hanna capitalist element. Will Hearst snatch off the nomination in 1904 as Bryan did in 1896? That is the great question that is disturbing just now the sleep of the Hannas. If he does, then Roosevelt must be turned down and a safe, i. e., sober capitalist candidate set up by the Republican convention; if he does, and Roosevelt is not turned down, then, despite their will, the "on all fours" capitalists will have to wheel in line for Roosevelt

and bleed hard out of their pockets,—a prospect not at all agreeable to them. The only salvation is the failure of Hearst and the nomination of Cleveland. Are not these "negligible details" thrilling enough for yellow covers! And what else are they besides but so many "negligible" (?) thorns in the pillows of sober American capitalism?

English trades unionism, that "great institution whose praises have so often been sounded," has again given an exhibition of its inherent weakness and potheriness. The following dispatch tells the tale in unmistakable language:

"Melbourne, May 15.—Premier Irvine announced in the Legislative Assembly to-day that he had received a letter from the officials of the Engine Drivers' Association declaring the strike off and submitting unconditionally."

"The president of the Engine Drivers' Association, in an interview, said the surrender was due to the drastic nature of the Strike bill, which was sure of adoption, and which had increased the number of men returning to work. It was only fair, therefore, to place the others on the same level."

Compare the action of these English trades unionists with those of Holland unionists, who, under the lead of Socialism, and inspired by class consciousness, defied the government by calling a general strike in direct opposition to a similar strike bill! Comparisons are truly odious to those to whom they are unfavorable.

That the working class conditions created by capitalism do not establish an environment conducive of good moral development has long been recognized by Socialists. It is now beginning to be perceived by the defenders of capitalism. One of these, a woman, speaking on "Child Life in Our Great Cities," said: "The greatest problem is with the children who are above the legal age limit, permitting them to work. In the evening they have nowhere to go. The boys form gangs and the girls are tempted to the dance halls."

"The public schools, which are the property of the people, should be club-houses at night, where both sexes can meet for instruction, if they will, or preferably for pleasure. They should have music and a chance to dance, a splendid exercise. There would not then be danger of the gang whose members go to prison, though they have originally been fine young fellows, and there would be fewer girls who first take lemonade in the dance halls and later whisky."

This idea is good as a palliative, but it will not cure the disease. That can only be done by the working class overthrow of capitalism.

The capitalists of this country are a peculiar, though consistent, crew. Discussing "prosperity," they say that the only menace to its continuance is labor. With labor striking for higher wages, paralysis and stagnation will eventually ensue, etc., etc. On the other hand, there is a certain paralysis and stagnation already here, against which they offer no protest. Owing to the high price of cotton caused by stock manipulation the cotton mills of the country are shutting down. Why are the capitalists so vigorous in describing one possible cause of "paralysis" and stagnation a "menace," while permitting an actual cause—a cause already operative—to pass by in silence? The answer is not far to seek. The shutting down of mills by labor involves a gain in profit to them. In both cases profit is the determining factor. Which is why we remark, that the capitalists of this country are a peculiar, though consistent, crew.

Schwab, the steel trust president, in opening the free industrial school at Homestead bearing his name, said that it is from such schools that the future captains of industry will spring. In those words Schwab stated the purpose of technical education to-day. He might have added, however, that the captains of industry will be exploited by the generals of industry, who, like Morgan, reap all the rewards, while their subalterns do all the work.

The indications for a "prosperous" summer for the working class are not very encouraging. In addition to the shutdown of cotton mills already noted, it is predicted that 75 per cent. of the silk looms of the country will shortly be idle. On the railroads there is a growing movement toward retrenchment, which will result in the enforced idleness of thousands. Prosperity cannot, in the very nature of capitalism, endure forever. There comes a time when it peters out, and the indications that that time will be soon upon us increase from day to day.

The Fourth of July will soon be here and the patriotic orator will dilate on the grandeur of "this great land of equal opportunities" once more. He might take as his text the wonderful ride of E. H. Harriman from Utah to New York. He might with this text show how, by reason of his wealth, the railroad president had all the advantages of railroad and medical skill in his victorious fight with appendicitis. Then, proceeding further, he might continue to show how all the strikers on Harriman's railroad (who are believed to be the cause of his "appendicitis") enjoy the same great opportunities wherewith to acquire great wealth to combat disease scientifically. There is no doubt that such a speech would make a hit because of its strict adherence to facts.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Oh, how cruel those Socialists are!
UNCLE SAM—Inasmuch as to which?
B. J.—And so inconsiderate!
U. S.—For instance?

B. J.—And they care not whether their juggernaut car tramples down women, children, the widow or the weak!
U. S.—Are you sure?

B. J.—Yes; just think of it. Say that a lone widow has just one tenement house. The Socialists would take that away from her and let her starve.

U. S.—Where is that widow?
B. J.—Where?
U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—I don't know.
U. S.—Nor anybody else. That lone widow is a myth; and the hole yarn is a myth, and a very clumsy one.

B. J.—fumbles in his pocket as if looking for the lone widow.

U. S.—The yarn is clumsy because, suppose that there is such a widow, whose only source of living is a tenement, your position amounts to this: that it is better that one lone widow should live than that scores of children should live.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—These tenements are death traps. Ventilation is impossible without drafts. The space is so small that privacy, and consequently, decency is impossible. The body and the mind of the child in those pest-holes are undermined. The mortality of children in tenements is something shocking. And those who survive are apt to be stunted in mind and body. Now, say you, "let it be; let the children die and grow rickety rather than remove that tenement and let the widow die!" The Socialist, on the other hand says: "If there be such a 'lone widow,' such a cormorant, unable to live unless children be sacrificed wholesale, then let her be the one sacrificed, tear down her tenement, and, along with it the social system that sacrifices the toiling masses in order that the few might live in clover!"

B. J. looks knocked out.

U. S.—Now who is the cruel fellow, the Socialist who would extirpate death-traps, or the fellow whose libel you repeat like a parrot?

B. J. keeps silent.

U. S. (poking B. J. in the ribs)—Lost your impudent voice? Answer!

B. J.—The cruel one is not the Socialist.

U. S.—No, not he. Neither is he the inconsiderate one. Just the contrary! Under your capitalist system every new machine, being private property, brings on endless misery to many; and the misery it brings on is justified with speeches about "progress." The Socialist Republic would not rest satisfied with wrenching from your "lone widow" capitalist system the weapon whereby it to-day cruelly treats the masses, and let her succumb. Having seen, and by the very fact of seeing, to the masses the Socialist Republic would afford your "lone widow" cormorant capitalists a chance to earn a decent livelihood and become useful members of society. Now don't be a parrot again.

The march of invention goes ruthlessly on. A glass blowing machine recently displaced thousands of window glass workers. Now another one will displace bottle blowers.

When millionaires' sons take teamsters' jobs in order to break strikes they show to an uninitiated world that they are ordinarily idlers, without anything else to do.

A scientist has discovered that the moon controls the rain. If he will now discover a method to control the moon, droughts will soon be unknown and everything will be lovely.

We continue to feel pained at the remarks of those who are skeptical about our great prosperity. In order to put an end to such remarks we print the following conclusive evidence of the fact that the country is just rolling in an abundance of wealth and employment:

"SUICIDE ON PARK BENCH
"Was George Lee, a Piano Mover Out of a Job and Despondent.

"Two Columbia students saw a man lying on a bench in the North Meadows in Central Park yesterday, with a carbolic acid bottle on the ground beside him. They notified Policeman Ryan, who called the park ambulance. When it arrived the man was dead.

"From papers found on him it was learned that he was George Lee, a piano mover, who had lived at 308 West 125th street. In his coat pocket was found a letter which asked that his wife be notified. She said that her husband had been out of employment and despondent."

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, together with their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Another Victim of the "Socialist" Party Praises The People for Opening His Eyes.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I want to congratulate you on the good work The People is doing in exposing the freaks and fakirs who are misleading the labor movement and exploiting the Socialist sentiment in America.

I am another one of those who have been fooled into believing that the so-called Socialist party represented the real Socialist movement. I was a charter member of Section Medford, Okla., until the section lapsed. After the kangaroo episode of 1899 I affiliated with the Socialist party of Oklahoma. I carried into it with me the uncompromising S. L. P. spirit, and, with a few others, sought to make the party a bonafide Socialist organization; but, after a three years' trial, found it impossible. The middle-class element dominated and would have nothing of proletarian tactics.

Since coming to Kansas City I have attended nearly all of the Mills' meetings and became more and more convinced that the S. P. is a counterfeit Socialist party.

During the past four months I have been a reader of The Daily People, and am now fully decided that the S. L. P. is the only genuine workingman's party. Therefore, in the future I shall vote its ticket and support its propaganda, convinced that it is the only organization that represents my interests and the interests of my class, the wage-working class.

J. W. McFall.
Kansas City, Mo., May 11.

Did the Anaconda "Socialists" Sell Out?

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The Mayor-elect and three aldermen-elect on the "Socialist" ticket in Anaconda, failed to comply with the law in regard to furnishing bonds and therefore cannot take office. I believe they have sold out already. Will let The People readers know later.

Butte, Mont., May 6.

Cameron King, "Socialist" Corruptionist, Photographs Himself.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Cameron King, of San Francisco, Cal., spoke at Great Central Palace last Friday evening. He is one of the two "Socialists" who accepted jobs from the Democratic Mayor in that city in 1900.

It was too bad that the hall was not filled with Social Democrats to hear what this "borer from within" had to say. Surely the honest ones among them would have had their eyes opened as to what "boring from within" means. At 8.30 there were only a dozen people in the room, and at 9.25, when the chairman called the meeting to order, I counted 29 people, including five Socialist Labor Party men, the chairman and the speaker.

King spent most of his time talking about the De Leonites and "The People." He consumed thirty minutes trying to explain his traitorous conduct in accepting a job from a Democratic administration. He said they were the third party in the State and entitled to an appointment, and if they had not petitioned to have Everett appointed Commissioner of Elections the Democrats could have appointed any old kind of a Socialist—even a De Leonite. Everett afterward appointed King as his deputy. He said they did not take the jobs because they wanted the offices, but so they could see that the votes were counted straight.

After this King got down to his subject, "The Political Situation in California." His talk was an attempt to justify the action of the Social Democratic party in California in not putting up candidates, but supporting the candidates of the Union Labor party instead. "Much has been said about us fusing with the Union Labor party," he said, "but we did not fuse—we only refused to put up candidates, and supported their candidates."

King claimed the economic situation there was different from any other place in the world; that, as a result of the numerous strikes, the trade unions were forced to go into politics to protect their unions, and it was the duty of the Social Democratic party to work with them. He also said when similar conditions arise in other places it will be their duty to refrain from putting up candidates, but, instead, support those of the Union Labor party.

He lamented the fact that this was not done from the start in San Francisco, and said it caused them to lose 62.3 per cent. of their members, and 40 per cent. of their vote. Tears almost came to his eyes when he told how his party was called a scab party, and his paper, the Advance, a scab sheet, because they did not support the Union Labor party in 1901, just the same as the Socialist Labor Party is called a scab party and The New York People a scab sheet.

King said the De Leonites were cowards; that they ran away from the unions and were afraid to stay there to fight it out, as if it required more courage to submit to the labor fakirs than to fight them.

Then he got back to the De Leonites again and said the San Franciscans got a good idea what the "skunks" were when Hickey came out there in 1899.

When the discussion followed Comrade Murphy got up and said Hickey

was a real skunk, and when the Socialist Labor Party found out he was a skunk it fired him out bodily, and when the Social Democratic party found out he was a skunk it took him in, and that now, according to the Seattle Socialist, he is on a lecture tour for them in the State of Washington.

Comrade Murphy and I told the audience that this man King is a logical "borer from within," and that when the time comes in New York for the fakirs to organize a Union Labor party, or when they line up with Hearst next year and the Social Democratic "borers from within" are brought face to face with the alternative of standing by their own party and being called scabs or going over to the Union Labor or Hearst party and not be called scabs, they will do the latter.

The meeting adjourned about 12 o'clock.
S.
New York, May 10, 1903.

Gompers Banqueted by Toronto Capitalists.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—That well-fed "champion of the labor movement of North America," Sam Gompers, came here with his fellow-graftsmen of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., to bind still tighter the chains of slavery upon the working class.

"Our" capitalist City Council showed its appreciation of these misleaders of the working class by giving them a banquet, at which Toronto's Mayor was present. This Mayor, since taking office, has asked the war department to give more accommodations to troops in armories.

This Mayor has the support of the fakirs in the Trades and Labor Council and the so-called Socialist party paper here, without whose support, they claim, he could not have been elected. These fakirs were wine and dined by the enemies of the working class in return for service rendered to capitalism, which consists of leading the workers around in a circle in pursuit of that delusion called "A fair day's wages, for a fair day's work," instead of marching them straight to the ballot box and capturing the political power, thereby putting an end to wage slavery.

Gompers, Mitchell, and others, were well advertised to appear in a hall that holds 6,000 people. Less than one quarter that number went in. Many were attracted by curiosity to see Mitchell, the man who helped Mark Hanna to get rid of much soft coal last winter. Several members of the "Socialist" party went to pay homage to these upholders of capitalism. Among the number was Weston Wrigley, who was right in his element, fawning on the fakirs. How different was the conduct of the members of the Socialist Labor Party, who gave out the newly received leaflet, "The Union Wreckers."

Along came Gompers and his assistants, who work the workers. Sammy's "bay window," which was very much to the fore, showed how nobly he has been waging the Glass struggle. "There cheers for the Socialist Labor Party," called out a comrade on seeing the labor lieutenants, who were startled at the response given. On they went to pose and carry on their sham fight until such time as the Socialist Labor Party, by its campaign of education, shall gather around it sufficient class conscious wage workers to be able to grapple successfully with the capitalist and his friend, the labor fakir.

Some members of Section Toronto are distributing leaflets on Sundays in the parks and gardens. Factories and dwellings will also be visited. Our first open air meeting of the season will take place May 9. The propaganda committee has been empowered to employ boys and girls, and men and women to obtain subscribers to The Monthly People, 5 cents to be paid for each subscription.

William Thompson.
Toronto, Ont., Canada, May 3.

Adam Marx's Method of Agitation and Securing Monthly People Subscribers.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I received last week twenty-five sample copies of The Monthly People. There were three groups of railroad workmen at the depot when I received them. I gave them most all of those Monthly Peoples, and tried hard to get subscribers. I met with no success, but I told them that if they could not subscribe to-day to mail 10 cents in postage, and their address, to 2-6 New Beards street, New York. They would then get a true workingman's paper.

It seems to me they did not have the 10 cents. I also gave away five copies of "What Means This Strike?" by DeLeon, and told them to read it out loud to each group, and that they will find the truth therein. They promised me they would.

I am all alone in this work here, and sent in yesterday ten more subs. for the Monthly, and have six more on my list. I need four more to make another ten. Will send that list also as soon as it is filled out.

You can rest assured I am in this work for fair. Down with the fakirs, small and large, one and all, Kangaroos of all kinds, no matter what kind. Our principles are the only ones worth fighting for!

I am intruding on the management of The People again, as I must have more sample copies of The Monthly People. If I could I would order, and pay for a good order, but I am sorry to say I am doing hardly any work at all. I have not earned \$5 a week for the last year. It is hard, but still I keep up courage, and will do my part, hoping I may some time do something financially to help the S. L. P. and cover some of the expenses of The Daily, Weekly and Monthly embarrasments.

It seems surprising to me that the comrades do not work harder, in securing subscriptions for the Monthly. If each comrade would only get one monthly sub in

every section and give the organizer their names and addresses each day, we would soon have a large following and our present situation would be greatly improved. I am sure they could do that.

Now is the time, comrades; let us all hustle.
Adam Marx.
New London, Conn., May 12.

The Absurd Lynn Item Again.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—For the past two months articles have been appearing in the Lynn Evening Item misrepresenting Socialism and Socialists, attempting to nullify the work of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance among the Lynn strikers.

These articles were promptly answered by the press committee of Section Lynn, and that the item writer and capitalist apologist did not relish the hot shots fired at him was evident by his "answer" to our articles.

The following is the latest of the articles of the press committee, which appeared in the Item of May 7:

Messrs. Editors: In the article which appeared in the Item of April 29, entitled "Socialist Dreams," the writer claims that the minimum, or bare subsistence, wage is the foundation of Marx's whole attack on the capitalist system.

If the writer had but carefully studied Marx's "Capital," as he would lead us to infer he had, he would know that in the chapter entitled "Buying and Selling of Labor Power" Marx proved conclusively that the minimum wage must be at least the cost of subsistence, or, in other words, that when the price of labor power falls to that minimum the condition of the workers must inevitably grow worse, and that the average must be higher in order to be of normal quality.

The writer has evidently (perhaps purposely) confused causes and effects. When Marx spoke of the effects of the capitalist system the writer concluded that he meant the cause, whereas, if he but understood the cause of the effects, he would know that it was the private ownership of the means of production, etc., and the only way to abolish the effects is to remove the cause, and that is by substituting the Socialist republic for this planless system of production, industrial war and social disorder; or, to put it in a nutshell, so to speak, the collective ownership of the means of production, etc., which, by the way, is the bedrock of Socialist philosophy. We are obliged to constantly remind the Item writer of this fact, lest he forget.

Farms.

The writer claims that we used percentages to make it appear that the small farmers are in a horrible nightmare. By that statement he implies that we have not acted honorably in this controversy. We will now quote for his benefit a few figures to prove our contention. But before quoting the figures we desire to impress strongly upon the minds of the writer and readers of the Item that the figures we are now about to use, and the figures that we quoted in our previous articles, are not Socialist figures, but are the figures of the Census Department of the United States of America, which have been issued by that department from time to time. But enough of this. Let us now proceed to examine, to analyze, these figures—furnished by the Census Department at Washington, D. C., mind you—and see if the contention of the Socialist Labor Party is correct or not.

In 1890, in the class of farmers ranging from 20 to 50 acres there was an increase of 5,433,564, and the average dropped from 40 to 33 acres; in the class of 50 to 100 acres the increase in area was 8,881,485 acres, and the average dropped from 80 to 72 9-10 acres; in the class of 1000 acres or over the increase was 102,468,845 acres, and the average increased from 1200 to 4237 acres.

The Item writer claims that the bonanza farms would cut a ridiculous figure if the sheep and cattle ranches were eliminated. If the writer had taken the pains to examine the census reports of the United States government he would have learned that the farms in the North Atlantic Division had an area of improved land of less than 60 per cent. of the total area.

The writer claims that "our" figures were misleading (which were not our figures, let us repeat) in regard to the income of the farmers, and that half of their food expenses were taken from their income. The United States census reports, from which we take our figures, say that the total gross produce not fed to live stock, of farms from 20 to 50 acres was \$324, and of 50 to 100 acres was \$503 per year. This sum included the food supply of the farm families, unless the writer thinks that the farm families are live stock.

In his article of April 3 he claimed that farm families are increasing at the rate of 50,000 a year, while in his article of April 29 he makes the assertion that farm families are increasing at the rate of 100,000 a year. Yet the writer claims that "our" figures are misleading. The writer proves our contention that the small farmers do not receive enough to support themselves when they are obliged to "let themselves out" to other farmers, and also work in saw mills.

Wages.

In the Youths' Companion of February 9, 1900, Lyman Gage, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, claimed that there were over \$60,000,000,000 worth of wealth produced in 1899, which would be an average of over \$2400 per worker. As the average wage is about \$437, it proves, according to Secretary Gage's statement,

that the worker gets less than 20 per cent. of the product of his toil.

The writer says that he believes the wages of the railroad employees are higher than ever. If he takes the trouble to secure a copy of the Interstate Commerce Commission's report of April 9, 1903, he will then speak from knowledge, and not from belief or faith.

Press Committee.
Section Lynn, Socialist Labor Party.

Father McGrady's "Socialism."

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I attended Father McGrady's lecture on Socialism and Religion, held under the auspices of the bogus Socialist party in the City Hall on May 3. Tickets were sold at 10 cents each, and a collection was taken up besides.

All the "Socialism" I heard from Father McGrady consisted of a criticism of Father O'Reilly for publishing in the Parish Calendar of this city that the said Father McGrady was suspended from the Roman Catholic Church for touring the country and preaching on Socialism, in opposition to the wishes of his superiors.

He threw a few funny jokes in once in a while in order to keep the unclass-conscious workmen in good humor and jolly them a little. They knew as much about Socialism when the lecture was over as they did before it started.

If I thought I was capable I would write up the two meetings that were held in the City Hall. They were laughable to a class-conscious workman.

J. D. G.
Lawrence, Mass., May 11.

The Handmaids of Capitalism.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The churches and the ginnmills are the handmaids of capitalism. The prince of religionists was Prince Guatama Buddha. Believing that no amount of speculation would solve the problem, Buddha retired into the forest. Mind being the reflex of the material condition, the eternal change in nature's primeval home impressed itself upon him, and Buddha came back with the message that nothing is but change—motion or life. The ego, according to Buddha, is a motion of such velocity as to be beyond the realization of ordinary attention.

The ruling class of India was not slow to turn his discovery to their own benefit. They exploited it as our modern capitalists exploit the Bible. They taught the religion of mysticism. The Buddhist will rivet his eye on the naval of Buddha to get in swing with the ego and enter into the blissful state of Nirvana.

Modern religions try to lead their followers there by prayer, music and silent meditation, or by emulating the example of a monkey howling by moonlight in the tree-tops of Brazil. The object of this is to pull the wool over the eyes of the proletariat sheep and make him stand quietly to his clipping; to draw the attention of an oppressed class by the promise of a fleeting dream in place of the actual realities of higher enjoyments. But the working class of to-day is beginning to see the joke.

Workingmen of common sense look with loathing and disgust at the churches. Said a colored workman to me the other day: "They asked me to come to church last Sunday. But I and the churches parted company years ago. If I had gone some of the brethren would have remarked, 'What's that damned nigger doing here?'"

The churches try to keep the people doped between elections. But the churches are losing their grip. Nobody is interested in them nowadays except a few middle class sharks, who use them in concocting schemes to rob the workers and advance their business interests.

The ginnmills perform the same stunt as the churches via the objective method. Their political province is to keep the people doped at elections. They do it more brutally than the ecclesiastical spellbinders, but their victim lands quicker into Nirvana, into the blissful ecstasy of a joyous jag.

But by gilding its vices capitalism is losing the grip of the ginnmills. In one more way than one capitalism is digging its own grave. While the working class is on the ascent it finds everything greased for the occasion; but so will the capitalist class find everything greased on the occasion of its descent.

C. C. Croll.
Pleasantville, N. Y., May 12.

A Typical S. L. P. Letter.

Note.—The Daily and Weekly People have been the recipients of a large number of copies of letters sent in answer to invitations proceeding from fishy quarters that recently set themselves up as "only logical centers" for starting of new parties. All these answers show that the public is not made up of gudgeons. We cannot publish all; we here publish one which will stand for all the others and covers the field to a "T." Here it is:

Fort Hancock, Texas, May 5.

Roman R. Holler,
Secretary S. L. League,
Newark, N. J.

Well, Roman, I received your "holer" of the 18th ultimo, and it amused me considerably. And the "autocrats" of the S. L. P. are standing on your feet, too, are they? Why don't you "holer" for the "pleece" or order out the militia?

The "autocrats" seem to have the faculty of exciting the white heat of all the rag pickers, curtain peddlers and old clo's men from Harlem to the East Side, and now the pill pounders and corn salve heroes are lining up. Why don't you flock with the other freaks and not sing your discordant songs to folks whose ears are not attuned to catch the burden of your graft.

Let me tell you, Roman, that the present policy of the S. L. P. suits me down to the ground, and that whenever I discover any funny business I'll adopt constitutional methods to remedy it and not make faces from some blind alley.

I have no axe to grind, no fake paper to publish, nor am I a disgruntled peddler or pulpit pounder, but I am very much interested in the success of Socialism, the S. L. P. and the policy it stands for.

Throw your junk into the ash barrel.
Yours merrily,
A. S. Dowler.

Adam Marx Keeping It Up.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I have this day sent in twenty more Monthly subscriptions, and have three more on a fresh list, with a promise of one subscriber for the Weekly.

Comrades, hustle to get more subscribers for The Monthly, Daily and Weekly People, and don't forget the Labor News Company. I have sold twenty-five copies of "What Means This Strike?"

A method I have is to show a Daily People editorial. I was on the train going to Stonington to-day and secured five subscriptions on the strength of to-day's editorial—"Jackdaws Galore."

Keep up the good work, comrades.

Adam Marx.
New London, Conn., May 14.

A One-Step-at-a-Time Scheme With Sense to It.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I wish to add my indorsement of the excellent article on "The Party Press and Its Control," by Comrade Will W. Cox, of Collinsville, Ill., and I want to say once more in his words, "Comrades, if we want a paper for our local benefit the best way to secure it is to rally to the support of the national organ. Get it on its feet, then multiplications will take place. Any other plan will fail, while the movement will be crippled."

That is a "one-things-at-a-time" proposition with sense to it. Get The Daily People plant out of debt; let every reader of The People do something toward it as soon as possible, and everything else will come into shape in due time. The debt can be paid, so pay your share in time.

Wm. McCormick.
Ballard, Wash., May 8.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

J. H. NEW YORK.—You have proved just the reverse of what you started to prove, and you have coupled with that a statement about the S. L. P. that is not correct.

The S. L. P. does not object to boring from within. What it objects to is boring from within ALONE. It has proved that where the principle of "boring from within" is set up to the exclusion of all other sort of boring, what happens is dishonesty, the lying low and allowing the fakir to do as he pleases. The S. L. P. bores in all ways, within, without, and sideways, that it can. All this has been explained scores of times.

That all the S. L. P. holds on the subject is correct is illustrated by this Rapid Transit Strike. The Kangaroo "borers from within" dare not stand against the fakirs, while the S. L. P. Comrade Serrati does and has thereby been able to prevent the fakirs from turning the strike down, i. e., inducing the men "to return to work pending arbitration."

Why don't you inform yourself first on what the S. L. P. does hold, and on the facts in the case, before you criticize?

"Boring from within" alone stands for "The Fakir is a Holy Thing." As a result the Kangaroos act as strumpets for him. "Bore in all ways, and where it cannot be done from within, then from without with a vim," puts the whole matter on a basis that sooner or later must drive out the fakir. That's the S. L. P. posture, and that is a posture befitting men, and that only men will adopt.

O. S. NEW YORK.—The more to "drive the tramps out of the State" can have no connection with the strikes now going on in the city. On the contrary, these numerous strikes being on, it may be in the interest of the capitalists to attract tramps. Many of these may be fit to take strikers' places. Tramps might be a source of danger to capitalism at times of strikes only when the strikes are conducted by the class conscious spirit of Labor. There is not much of that in evidence just now.

J. W. MCF., KANSAS CITY, MO.—Bohm-Bawerk has before this "demolished Marx." The claim that the 3rd volume of Marx contradicts his previous labor theory is unfounded, and not half so "clever" as the late Archbishop Corrigan's claim that Marx had recanted on his deathbed. These capitalist economists could keep one busy all his life exposing their mare's nests. They can no more argue Marx away than the seal could be argued off Shylock's deed.

C. H. B. NEW YORK.—1st. It would be a deal more sensible if, instead of standing by and finding fault, you fell to and helped THE PEOPLE out of its financial straits, so that, owing to the mechanical difficulties resulting from small means, much of the news matter has to be daily left out.

2d. The Kishinev atrocities were not a crime against the Jew, they were a crime against civilization, and such crimes can be

only fomented by perpetuating race distinctions.

"ENQUIRER," NEW YORK.—The article is entitled "A Wonderful Calculating Machine"; Daily People, March 23.

T. R. CHICAGO, ILL.—It is such Union men who cause a feeling of charity to well out of one's heart towards the brutal leader of a pure and simple union. They are so vicious and stupid, and conceded that nothing else but brutality seems to be fit for them. When they turn up in the S. L. P., they show soon for what they are: they try their game; and then yell "tyranny!" when bounced, while they crawl meekly before the labor fakir who treats them with a rod of iron.

D. L. J. PHILADELPHIA, PA.—The word "proletarian" does not stand in the same box with "bourgeois." The term "bourgeois," where not familiar, may be introduced to advantage. It covers the capitalist class in several respects better than "capitalist class." Not so with "proletariat." Of course, if the right thing is meant and understood it is all right. But the word is not felicitous. Both in point of etymological and of history it is inapplicable to the modern working class. The statement "the proletariat of Rome was fed by the ruling class, the modern proletariat feeds the ruling class" is a prettily turned phrase, but will not bear close scrutiny. The proletariat of Rome were the slums, they were "fed" by the ruling class; and so are the slums to-day; and both of them (now and in Rome) are grafts on the working class. "Working Class" is by far the better term.

X. X. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Yes, such a thing is theoretically possible. The S. L. P. may do a great wrong to a deserving member, but that that was a fact—that a wrong was done and that the victim was a deserving member—will appear from his subsequent conduct. If he really was wronged and was a worthy person, his subsequent conduct will prove it, and the Party would certainly eventually redress the wrong. But if he was not wronged and was not deserving, he will himself take pains by his subsequent conduct to justify the Party's conduct. And that's just what has happened. You can't quote a single instance of an expelled S. L. P. man who did not forthwith hasten to prove that the fault with the Party was that it did not bounce him long before.

A. S. NEW YORK.—Go back to first principles. The Party's position against Socialists accepting jobs from capitalist politicians is grounded on the principle that the handle to corrupt the Labor Movement must be taken out of the capitalist class. Now apply that to the King-Everett conduct in San Francisco.

1st. Supposing that there is a law that gives "third parties" a place, that is no reason why to accept the job. It should be spurned. If not, the capitalists may at any time enact laws just with an eye to corrupting purposes. Capitalists do not legislate and enact the by-laws that control the internal conduct of a bona fide Socialist.

2d. That law in San Francisco was promoted by the identical King-Everett coterie of job-seekers, who induced its enactment, with an eye to pap.

3d. The above two reasons completely knock out "yearling upstarts" Kings claims of innocence for having accepted a job from a Democratic Mayor. But we are informed there is still a third knockout: The claim that they got the jobs as members of the "third party" is, we are informed, false. The "third party" in San Francisco was the Protectionists, we are told.

The act was rank corruption.

M. H. RICHMOND, VA.—What? Cleveland very much a man of his word? Why, did you never read his letter of acceptance in 1884? He there declares for one term only. He has since run twice!

W. D. M. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Shall duly take up that speech of Shaffer's.

N. S. T. BOSTON, MASS.—There is a report due here soon from England on that whole matter. Four S. D. F. locals in Scotland and as many in England have withdrawn from the Quetch-Hyndman combination of stage-strutters. And the healthy movement is spreading. More anon.

O. S. COLUMBUS, O., AND J. D. LOUISVILLE, KY.—That number of the "New Era" is worth its weight in gold. What an illustration of Providential dispensation, and the unflinching logic of events! That Master James A. Arnold's poem against Comrade De Leon should appear flanked by pictures and capitalist utterances of the notorious fakirs is a circumstance that gives the author and his sentiments a fitting setting,—and answer.

C. O. R. NEW YORK.—Just wait and you will see these Social Democratic players with politics in much funnier hysterical fits on the Hearst boom. Uneasy lies the head that wears a fool's cap.

W. W. BUTTE, MONT.—Not so fast. Here are two men. No. 1 will give you a correct idea of what Socialism aims at; No. 2 will do that and will also know why the Socialist aim is correct and why there is no other way out. Are the two equally safe? Not at all. The first one looks at Socialism the way he would look at a fine house: he would admire such a house; but not all his admiration therefor will remove him from the mental police that there may be a finer house, and in that case would prefer that.

No. 1, not knowing the reasoning of Socialism, will be taken in by some reformer with a pretty scheme: he does not know as No. 2 does that it is either Socialism or smash-up.

G. B. NEW YORK.—Good man, what's biting you? Go your ways. Who cares? We are not bothering about you. The world is wide. The S. L. P. steers its course. You steer yours: we hope you will enjoy it as much as we do.

C. G. D. ST. PAUL, MINN.—The letter in "Foskner" from the Kangaroo W. Wilson of Brooklyn is a typical sample of Kangaroo lying. Comrade De Leon would have nothing else to do if he were to "protest" against all things these folks say of him.

He relies upon the fact that lies have short legs, and wear these out. It is not true: the comrade is writing for the "Sun": his whole time is devoted to the S. L. P. But the thing is typical of the Kangaroo in its idiotic stupidity, too. The Kangaroo is on his belly in the dirt before the pure and simple unions: the "Sun" office has been unionized; and yet this Kangaroo calls the "Sun" a scab paper. Truly for idlogy a Kangaroo beats all.

A PERTINENT QUESTION.

"The Wall Street Journal" Asks It of the Yellow Journal.

There is an old saying to the effect that "when thieves fall out honest men get their due." The ultra wing of capitalism, represented by "The Wall Street Journal," and the middle class wing, represented by the Yellow Journal, are continually in each other's hair owing to their divergent economic interests. This causes them to make damaging statements of each other, such as contribute to a clear understanding of capitalist conditions and aid in the liberation of the working class from capitalist influences. For this reason the following editorial from the Wall Street Journal of May 11 will be found very interesting:

"WHAT ABOUT THE DEPARTMENT STORES?"

"The Evening Journal, prince of yellow journalism, printed on Friday an 'editorial' on the building lockout in this city, in which it discussed the circumstances of the case in its usual style.

"Among other things it said: 'In the end, there will be a union of the drivers, and there will be a reckoning with the unfaithful—with the poor, ignorant, selfish creatures that have chosen to play the part of 'scabs' and sell out their fellows.'

"Which means nothing if it does not mean that in event of success crowning the teamsters' union in its fight, those who have exercised their right to work will be punished (in the usual way) for doing so.

OFFICIAL.

Canadian N. E. C.

Regular meeting held at headquarters, 250 1/2 Dundas street, London, Ont., May 15, 1903. Absent, B. Nuttall. Forbes was elected to the chair. Ross was appointed Recording Secretary pro tem. Minutes of last special meeting were read and approved.

Communications from The People regarding Section Hamilton read and filed; from Section Toronto with \$2 for dues stamps; from New York Labor News Company regarding bill of \$1.70 for Section Halifax, N. S.

Secretary instructed to inform the New York Labor News Company that no such section existed; and also that the N. E. C. would gladly lend any protection they can to the New York Labor News Company by giving information regarding sections in Canada.

Secretary was instructed to ask Section London to appoint auditors at once to audit semi-annual statement, which is now overdue; also to nominate a comrade to fill the place of Comrade Nuttall, who states that he is unable to fulfill his duties on the N. E. C. Adjourned.

D. Ross, Recording Secretary Pro Tem.

Missouri State Committee.

Regular meeting of Missouri State Committee. Comrade Bilbarrow in the chair. Absent, C. Grupp; excused. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Communication from Daily People Finance Committee submitting plan to aid Daily People. Plan was endorsed and E. C. Diekmann elected to take charge of the work.

Secretary reported that he had visited St. Charles, Mo., on April 12; prospects are good for organizing a section there soon. He also reported that 400 pieces of literature had been distributed at Washington, Mo.

Motion adopted instructing Secretary to visit adjoining towns at his earliest convenience on party mission.

Motion adopted to purchase 1000 S. T. & L. A. manifestos.

Motion adopted to elect a special committee to look over the books for information on questions of loans. C. Hager, Charles Wiperman and William Bilbarrow elected.

Bill for literature, 50c; bill for rubber stamp, 50c; both ordered paid.

Financial report: Previously on hand, \$17.40; receipts, \$4.20; total, \$21.60; expenses, \$1; balance on hand, \$20.60.

H. M. Graber, Rec. Secretary.

General Committee, Section New York, Socialist Labor Party.

A regular meeting was held Saturday, May 16, 1903, 8.30 p. m., in The Daily People Bldg., 2-6 New Road St., Manhattan. Chairman, Joseph Scheurer; Vice-Chairman, Wm. Heymann.

The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read. S. Winauer was elected temporary sergeant-at-arms. Two new delegates were seated. Fourteen new members were admitted.

A letter from the New York State Executive Committee was received, calling attention to the resignation of Geo. Abelson from that committee, and calling upon the Section to make nominations to fill the vacancy. The letter was referred to the Assembly Districts with instructions to make nominations and place them in the hands of the Organizer before May 31.

The Organizer reported that all arrangements were completed for celebrating the Third Anniversary of The Daily People by a picnic at Glendale Schuetzen Park. Tickets are ready for distribution and Assembly Districts not supplied with tickets are urged to secure them of the Organizer at once.

The Auditing Committee reported on July 4, 1902, Picnic as follows: Receipts, \$459.15; expenses \$131.22; paid to Section New York \$162; paid to Daily People \$165.93.

It furthermore reported that the following numbers of tickets have not been accounted for:

New York County: 2 and 4 A. D., 2; 6 and 10 A. D., 20; 6 and 12 A. D., 2; 7 and 9 A. D., 6; 14 A. D., 6; 16 A. D., 46; 20 A. D., 10; 32 and 35 A. D., 21, and 35 A. D., 3.

Kings County: 5 A. D., 10; 6 A. D., 26; 7 A. D., 6; 10 A. D., 40; 12 A. D., 5; 13 and 14 A. D., 3; 15 A. D., 50; 20 A. D., 9; 21 A. D., Br. 1, 2, and 21 A. D., Br. 2, 25.

Miscellaneous: Section Hoboken, N. J., 9; Union County, N. J., 50, and D. A. 49 S. T. & L. A., 3.

The report was received and adopted; and the list of delinquents ordered published.

The Organizer reported the holding of a General Party Meeting, at which the plans to finance The Daily People were set in operation; and other party work in connection with the propaganda was inaugurated. Open air meetings have been commenced and the 16th Assembly District, Manhattan, was granted certain privileges in connection with the opening of its new club rooms. Ten dues stamps, lost by the 20th Assembly District, Manhattan, were replaced. The subdivisions were instructed to mail a certain issue of The Weekly People to all carded S. L. P. and S. D. P. voters. The report was received and adopted.

The Kings County Committee also reported a General Party Meeting, at which plans to finance The Daily People were put in force and that a picnic had been arranged for in August; the proceeds of which are to go to the Kings County Campaign Fund. Its Assembly Districts have quite generally adopted the reply postal system with fairly good results;

though where a house to house canvass has been made better results are reported. In this respect the 9 and 12 A. D. 106 enrolled voters were visited and 150 monthly and 8 Weekly People subscribers secured. Three members were secured. The 13 and 14 A. D., has had the most gratifying results; Kings, comes next in point of activity. Most districts have placed The Daily People on newstands. On May 20th the 3rd A. D., Kings, will be organized at a meeting in Columbia Hall, Columbia and Carroll streets. The indorsement of the General Committee was granted on an entertainment to be held at 813 Park Avenue on May 30, 1903. The report was received and adopted.

The Daily People Finance Committee reported it had met April 11, 1903, as instructed and formulated plans for liquidating the debt of The Daily People. The plans were subsequently adopted by New York and Kings County Committees and set in operation by them; and that the Assembly Districts in both counties were now carrying on the work. It furthermore reported that with the sanction of the N. E. C. the plan had been extended to State Committees and to outside sections, members at large and sympathizers, and that all State Committees and Sections had been supplied with certificate vouchers and literature on the subject. Yonkers was the first to respond to the call with a batch of applications for certificates and promise of about fifteen to come and that other Sections have already put themselves in touch with the committee. The plan seems to have taken good hold and it is expected that at the next General Committee substantial returns will be reported from outside Sections. So far \$545 have been paid in. The report was received and adopted.

The Organizer was instructed to organize Queens County as a subdivision of New York County.

E. Moonelis and H. Deutsch were elected a committee to compile rules governing Party entertainments, from the records of the Section for the past two years.

Adjournment followed.

A. C. Kihn, Secretary.

Greater Boston, Attention!

All members of the Greater Boston Entertainment Committee are hereby requested to be present at the next meeting, which will take place at Boston headquarters, 1165 Tremont street, Sunday, May 24, at 2 o'clock sharp.

Charles H. Chabot, Secretary.

Officers of Section Brantford, Ontario. Leon Lazarous, 78 Market street, Brantford, Ont., has been elected Literary Agent of Section Brantford, and Murray A. Wood, 113 Cayuga street, Brantford, Recording Secretary.

For Wallace and Lake Fund.

From Buffalo, N. Y. Contributed by:
B. Reinstela \$2.50
E. Hank 1.00
O. A. Curtis 1.00
H. Waldman 1.00
F. Repschlager, Jr. 1.00
F. Hersog 1.00
Chas. H. Gulick 1.00
Charles Smith 1.00
J. J. Corcoran50
A. J. Helm50
J. Goward50
W. McGuinness50
T. F. W. Schultz25
J. Hersog25
C. Sauer25
A. Lewis25
J. W. Sharpe25

Total \$12.75

Special Fund.

As per circular letter September 3, 1901: Previously acknowledged \$7055.95
R. Armer, San Francisco, Cal. 5.00
R. Zimmer, Cleveland, O. 2.00
Sec. Louisville, Ky. Festival 7.00
Socialist Labor Club, Brooklyn. 5.00
Branch Watervliet, N. Y. 1.00
Ohio State Committee 1.75
Mittetien, Cleveland, O. 1.75
Koeppke 1.75
Kruso 1.00
Fuerst 2.50
T. French, Allegheny, Pa.50
H. Eisenach 5.00

Total \$7070.95

One Day's Wages Brigade.

W. McCormick, Ballard, Wash. \$ 2.00
R. Bartels, City 2.50
X Y Z, City 2.00
W. Chambers, City 2.00
J. J. Kinneally, City 2.00
Carl Marby, Castle Rock, Colo. 2.00
Max Hyman, City 5.00
C. Flecher, City 2.00
J. Scheurer, City 5.00
J. Hurwitz, City 3.00
Santhoff, City 2.00
Kelly, City 3.00

Total \$30.50

G. E. B., S. T. & L. A.

The regular meeting of the General Executive Board was held Thursday evening, May 14, at 2-6 New Road street. August Gilhaus was elected chairman. All members were present except Comrade Bartel, who was absent without excuse. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

The General Secretary reported that a joint meeting of District Alliances Nos. 4

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and 49 had been held on May 10, in accordance with the call issued by the G. E. B., and that said meeting had elected Comrade Charles C. Crawford, of Local Alliance No. 140, as a member of the G. E. B. in place of John Plomondon, resigned. Comrade Crawford had been duly notified of his election, and was now present. Report received and Comrade Crawford pledged.

Financial report of the General Secretary, and also the Treasurer, for the past three weeks were received and filed. Communications:

From Comrade Schwartz, Organizer of Local Alliance No. 325, Los Angeles, on the acute class struggle now going on at Los Angeles. This struggle, by its developments, shows the correctness of the stand taken by the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. against the capitalist class and their capitalist allies, the labor organizations of the pure-and-simple type. It also shows the direct connection existing between the capitalist employers and their hirelings, better styled "labor lieutenants."

From Local Alliance No. 342, Cleveland, Ohio; L. A. No. 370, Hartford, Conn.; L. A. No. 392, North Vassalboro, Me., and District Alliance No. 3, New Bedford, and No. 21, Hartford, on local conditions and organization.

From District Alliance No. 19, Lynn, Mass., on the excellent work being done by the District Alliance and the prospects for the future.

From District Alliance No. 17, Rhode Island, on the work of organization and agitation being done among the textile workers, having organized a strong local of weavers at Uxbridge, Mass., with two more locals of the textile workers partly organized at Woonsocket, R. I.

From Comrade Fred Uhlman, of Erie, Pa., asking for assistance in the work of organizing for the alliance. Action, Secretary instructed to answer and, if necessary, furnish a speaker for Erie.

From Comrade L. M. Cunningham, Organizer of Section Erie, Pa., on the good prospects of reorganizing Local Alliance No. 365, of Erie, and asking for information. Action, Secretary directed to comply with the request.

From Local Alliance No. 373; North Andover, Mass., with propositions of new members and asking for information on organization and the textile industry in general. Action, Secretary directed to answer and give the desired information.

From Emanuel Hawk, Buffalo asking for information in reference to Local Alliance No. 339. Action, Secretary directed to give the required information.

Applications for membership at large: Oscar B. Lent, moulder, 1331 Main street, Peekskill, N. Y., and J. W. Billings, Grand Junction, Colo. Both were accepted. Charter granted to the Uxbridge Weavers' Alliance, Uxbridge, Mass.

No more business being before the board, meeting adjourned.

John J. Kinneally, General Secretary.

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

S. L. P. Mayoralty Candidate Gives Some Good Advice to the Workers.

To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party:

I return my sincere thanks for the confidence you have manifested in me to nominate me a third time for the office of Mayor of the City of Phoenix. The historical mission that the Socialist Labor Party fills makes it the greatest of honors to be a nominee of the said party. I assure you, as a member of the Socialist Labor Party, that I shall fulfill my duty to it and to the wage earners in general. I shall maintain the class interest of the wage earner in accordance with the principles of the party.

As all scientific Socialists understand that all governments are class governments, therefore every government governs in the interest of the class it represents. Workingmen, if you want your interest represented, vote for the nominee of your own class. When you do this you manifest an understanding of economic conditions and show a disposition to conquer the power of government that you may have legislation done in the interest of your class.

The question of the unemployed is the question of the age. They are the creatures of capitalism, and are necessary to its life. So long as a laborer is paid but a small part of what he produces he cannot buy back the whole product, so there is always an overproduction. The continual progress of invention forces an army of men to seek work which cannot be supplied them under capitalism. Thus we see the European workman fleeing from his home to escape poverty. This is but the result of the capture of the European market by the American capitalist through the centralized power of the means of production and distribution and the laboring class coming to this country will add to the volume of the unemployed here. Capitalism means poverty, degradation and humiliation to the wage workers the world over. Socialism means joy, happiness and plenty for all. The product of the laboring class according to the last census was \$300 for every man, woman and child in the United States per annum. This would be greatly increased by putting the parasites to work. But the average laborer does not get one-half of this amount, on which he has to support a family when married. But this army is absolutely necessary to the existence of capitalism. If there were no unemployed

to take their places the laborers could easily demand and obtain by a strike the whole product of their labor. The army of the unemployed is far more effectual than the State militia or the United States troops to keep the workers in subjection.

In France, where the Socialist Labor Party possesses the power of government in municipalities, the question of the unemployed receives due consideration and they make the interest of the laboring class a paramount issue. Such, also, will take place in this country when the laboring class understands what are their rights and how to gain them.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties declared for municipalization of public utilities, but the scientific Socialist sees in this the cloven foot of capitalism, and that the landlord class desire to use the utilities as tax-paying institution. In all middle class reform movements toward municipalization there is only a shifting of exploitation from the capitalist corporation to the capitalist municipality. The scientific Socialist sees in such an action only an attempt on the part of capitalism to hide its nefarious operations under the cloak of the state. So long as the government directing the operation of the industries and owning the instruments of production is composed of a different class from those who must use and operate them, such ownership will be used to exploit the workers. Could this movement be carried on step by step until all industry was merged in our present class government it would simply mean that all political and all economic power would be united in one class completely unified for action and would constitute the mightiest means for exploitation of the wage workers ever devised.

But the scientific Socialist sees their nefarious practices and diabolical aims and through the Socialist Labor Party stands as a bulwark of defense in the interest of the laboring class. Municipalization under the Socialist Labor Party means that the workers have first, through the election of their party, gained control of the powers of government and then legislation in the interest of the working class will begin. The children of the worker will be educated and comfortable and sanitary homes provided for the working class. Now you create the mansion; the wealthy class inhabit it, while many of your class live in hovels and are thrown upon the street if they cannot pay the rent. Now you create the wealth that gives education, refinement and power to the wealthy class, while your class get bull pens, bullets and bayonets for daring to stand for their rights as American citizens. And now the ruling class are crying out educational qualifications for the franchise, because of the ignorance of the working class. If the working class are ignorant then the State is to blame for not providing means to educate the ignorant. But this the wealthy aristocratic ruling class will not do, for they know that knowledge is power and that the only way to keep the working class submissive is to keep them ignorant. This work of educating and elevating the laboring class will be the work of the Socialist Labor Party. It is their mission in this epoch of the world's history and every workingman who understands his duty to himself and his class will support the party.

The manner in which vagrants are treated by municipal capitalist governments of Phoenix is un-American, unconstitutional and deserves the censure of every true American citizen. They are arrested by corrupt officers, frequently instigated by a corrupt citizen, tried by a corrupt court and sentenced by a corrupt judge to a term of hard labor for city improvement. When his term expires he is still a vagrant. The city has been improved at his expense, and the constitution has been violated and American manhood degraded. Every American citizen, white or black, is entitled to a trial by jury. A jury, I don't believe, could be found that would find a man guilty of crime because he had no means of subsistence.

Last, but not least, the wily politician will chase you now and he will profess great love for you, but his love is as the love of a cat for a mouse—he thinks of the benefits he will derive through your use to his own personal interest and he will tell you that you are foolish to vote for the Socialist Labor Party, and that they can't do anything for you now. Ask him what the old parties have done for the laboring class. Refer him to your constitutional rights—that are withheld—and to the fact that the laws that are passed in the interest of the laboring class have been repeatedly violated by their respective governments, both Republican and Democratic. Ask him which he thinks is best—for you to vote for what you don't want, and get it, or to vote for what you do want, with a positive assurance of getting it in the future, through the solidarity and numbers of the laboring class. Yours truly,

J. A. Leach.

Phoenix, Arizona, April 26.

Alliance Cigar Factory

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BEST CIGARS AT LOWEST PRICES:
Box of 50 S. T. & L. A. \$1.40
Medallion, 4 1/2 inches 2.25
Nature's Beauties, 4 1/2 inches 2.00
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We Pay Express Charges. Price list sent on application.

LABOR AND CAPITAL

A Defender of Arbitration Runs Away From Logic and Fact.

The following letters from the Scranton Truth are instructive. They give a good idea of the methods pursued by the repeaters of capitalist platitudes when they encounter Socialist analysis: they run away from logic and fact and seek escape in assertions equally as foolish as those which provoked the attack: "To The Truth."

"In your paper of recent date a letter appears in the industrial notes from the pen of Mr. Corless which for muddled-headed political economy beats the Utopian economists of the eighteenth century or the capitalist political economists of to-day. Let us analyze carefully a few of his points, and see what they amount to.

"Visions of Peace—He believes that the report of the Strike Commission is a basis for a long industrial peace, and flies in the face of the fact that, although that report went into effect April 1, that the miners are in worse condition to-day than before; that, instead of peace, revolt is the order of the day in the coal fields. When he tries to show that the struggle can be ended by both sides getting together he ignores the whole evolution of society, which from primitive ages has been a history of class struggle and class wars, which never ended till one or the other of the contending forces gained the mastery.

"Here is a class struggle in society today between the laborer and capitalist, the robber and robbed, and the struggle hinges around the wealth labor alone creates. The capitalists take the lion's share through his ownership of the tools of production, legalized by his control of the political power, and the laborer contests every foot of ground in order to wring from his master enough to sustain life. There can be no arbitration to settle this; no boards of conciliation or Civic (physic) Federations can end the struggle. Only when the laborers take possession of the tools of production by getting control of the government and abolishing all classes, or go down to a condition of absolute slavery will the struggle end.

"Labor is a commodity, no matter what else you try to make it. It is regulated in the labor market by the same laws which govern the price of other commodities, whether beans or potatoes. "The laws of supply and demand and the laborers' cost of production govern its price.

"When there is a surplus of labor on the market the price goes down; when there are few laborers in the market the price goes up.

"But labor differs in some ways from other commodities. The capitalist can by no manner of means increase the crop of beans or potatoes on the market, but with the wage-earners' brains he can invent a machine that will throw hundreds of men out of work and increase the surplus on the market.

"Again, if beans are plentiful and the price is low, the capitalist can lay them on the shelf, and wait until the price goes up. Labor, on the other hand, is a perishable commodity, which, if left for any length of time on the shelf, will become a skeleton.

"He also seems to think that the capitalist shuts down because he wants to; he does not see that behind the capitalist is the word "must"; that the conditions of the market force him.

"When the laborers produce more wealth than they can consume; when they get about \$1 out of every \$10 worth of wealth they create, and the master has the other \$9, if there is no market for this surplus of unpaid labor, if the Chinese want no shoes, the Filipinos no clothes, the master must shut down until his surplus is worked off. In the glass industry, which he mentions, the worker can only average seven months out of the twelve. He produces enough in those seven to fill the market for twelve, so he is supposed to starve to death or find some other means of livelihood. The bosses don't care; they are not in business for fun or their health, but to make as much from the wage-earner as they can.

"No board of conciliation can change these things. They are but the offshoots of the private ownership of social industry and can only be changed by the downfall of the system. We can not have industrial peace as long as we have anarchy in our mode of distribution. Why cry peace when there is no peace! You will need a commission to settle the strike and another board to settle the settlement, and so it goes. The only remedy is the public ownership of the tools of production.

"The old trade union movement of today is sixty years behind the times. They use the bow and arrow against the Gatling gun; the old weapons against capitalism entrenched behind all the powers of government. They have outlived their usefulness and have become impotent. "What is necessary to-day is a trade union founded on the class struggle and backed by a working class political party, like the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Not till then will industrial peace be assured. A. A. Grant, "614 Adams avenue."

"To the Editor of The Truth:

"Mr. A. A. Grant takes up the work of discrediting my views on the subject of conciliation and arbitration as a means of adjusting industrial questions.

"If the gentleman would adhere to the truth in his attempt to criticize the ideas advanced by others, his force of argument would be more apparent.

"No Socialist with whom I have ever come in contact, is willing to accept commonplace, matter-of-fact conditions as a basis of argument, but must soar off into the realms of the land of pipe-dreams to secure a starting point for his discussion of economic conditions.

"So absorbed is this gentleman in the Utopian dream of the Socialist that he cannot bring himself in touch with the material conditions which surround him. He hates to see labor improve its condition through any other means than the mythical proposition offered by Socialism, and for this reason wilfully mistakes actual conditions brought about through that great agency the labor union.

"It is this utter and contemptible selfishness which makes impossible the consummation of the ideal Socialism of which Mr. Grant is a most ardent exponent.

"The condition of which he complains and against which trades unionism is contending is the outcome of the selfishness wrapped up in humanity, and while this character in the human race maintains there can be no development of the ideal Socialism which Mr. Grant and his co-laborers in the movement so vividly portray.

The selfishness of the Socialist in com-

bating every movement which is put forth for the betterment of the conditions of humanity, except that plan of which he is the advocate, is the strongest argument against the establishment of such a system of government.

"Mr. Grant has made himself most conspicuous along this line, and is utterly without charity in the matter of discussing anything pertaining to the great work which trades unionism has accomplished for the betterment of the masses.

"I do not care to enter into a discussion with him on the Socialistic question. To me Socialism seems a long way off. Socialism, mingled with the meanness and selfishness displayed in the advocacy of this question would develop a government which would be worse than the most despotic system recorded in the world's history.

"When Socialists can drive from their own ranks the selfishness which they exhibit, and selfishness can be obliterated in the world, the ideal system which Mr. Grant is so earnestly advocating, will be possible. But why should we await the coming of the millennium?

Why not handle these questions from a rational point of view? Conciliation and arbitration offer an improvement over conditions which have existed in the past.

"Why should we await the realization of the Utopian dreams of the Socialist?" "William Corliss."

GRAND PICNIC

AND

Summernight's Festival

ARRANGED BY SECTION NEW YORK, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, TO CELEBRATE THE

Third Anniversary of the

DAILY PEOPLE

on Saturday, July 4th

Picnic Commences at 2 p. m.

Glendale Schuetzer Park,

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PRIZE GAMES FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN!

PRIZE BOWLING FOR GENTLEMEN!

TICKETS, ADMITTING GENTLEMAN AND LADY, 25 CENTS.

DIRECTIONS—From Brooklyn Bridge, take Myrtle avenue surface trolley cars or Ridgewood train and transfer at Ridgewood for the park; from Broadway, Grand, Houston or Twenty-third street ferries take Bushwick avenue car and transfer at the same point for the park.

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OF BOSTON, WILL HOLD ITS

14th GRAND PICNIC

DECORATION DAY

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IN THE BEAUTIFUL AND POPULAR

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From 10 A. M. Till 10 P. M.

SPEECHES

IN ENGLISH BY MR. JORDON OF LYNN.

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SINGING

THE SCANDINAVIAN SOCIALIST CHORUS!

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The Well-Known Comedian, MR. HOLM, Will Also Appear and Render Some of His Best Comic Pieces From History (in Swedish)

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FOR GENTLEMEN:

Wrestling Match, Sack Race, Running Race, Pin Struggle, Hight Jumping, Jacob Blindfold, The Taming of the Bull.

For LADIES: Ribbon Bowling Contest. For BOYS: Blueberry Pie-Eating Contest.

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Prizes Will Be Awarded in Each Event.

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